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M E M O I R S

OF THE

LIFE AND WRITINGS

OF
JOHN JORTIN, D.D.

BY JOHN DISNEY, D.D. F.S.A.

L O N D O N :

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ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD.

M DCC XCII.

"Scripture," say the protestants, "is the only rule
 " of faith in matters pertaining to revealed reli-
 " gion, and they say well. There is no other
 " christianity than this; no other test of doctrines
 " than this; no other centre of union than this.
 " Whatsoever is not *clearly* delivered there,
 " may be *true*, but cannot be *important*. HÆC
 MEA EST SENTENTIA, NEQUE ME EX EA VLLIVS
 VNQVAM AVT DOCTI AVT INDOCTI MOVEBIT
 ORATIO."

———— *Jenin's Remarks on E. H.*
 vol. iii. p. 85 and 86.



P R E F A C E.

THE life of a literary man is chiefly devoted to his labors in the republic of letters, and therefore seldom affords any variety of incident unconnected with his writings. On this account, these are the proper objects of his biographer's attention, and it becomes his duty to commend, or censure, as he conceives them to deserve praise, or blame, respectively.

In the delineation of literary chara we are drawn to the consideration of the different degrees and departments of useful learning, and the honest application of it to the advancement of truth, and the general happiness of mankind. In this view, the labors of our author are truly respectable;

they are the produce of great abilities, and real learning; they discover all the marks of true genius and taste; they were intended, and are well calculated, to forward the better knowledge of the christian dispensation, to enlarge our christian charity and our christian liberty, and to promote the practice of virtue in every situation of life.

It will answer the most sanguine expectation of the present biographer of Dr. Jortin, if he shall be the means of introducing his readers to a more general acquaintance with his author. Few men, however learned or however excellent, will be able to peruse the works of Dr. Jortin, without having their minds informed, and their tempers improved; their views of religion and virtue enlarged, and their good principles confirmed.

Dr. Jortin, it is apprehended, sensibly felt the want of that liberty which is essential to the profession of genuine christianity. For though this sentiment is not expressed, in the terms of complaint or remonstrance,
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P R E F A C E.

it may frequently be discovered in incidental observations, in many parts of his writings.

The difficulties, however, which, upon this presumption, may be supposed to have lain in his way of accepting preferment upon the terms which the church of England requires of her ministers, do not appear to have presented themselves to his mind, with the same force they have done to others. But, though this may surprise some persons, and I do not undertake to be his apologist in this matter, nevertheless it is not to be considered as a just cause of indiscriminate reproach. When principles are entertained, in consequence of examination and inquiry, which militate against our own early prejudices and the established practice of our fathers, embarrassments of various kinds impede the adoption of them in their full extent; and it may frequently be observed that the obligation and consequences of such convictions are found to be a distinct and subsequent consideration, and do not equally affect the different persons concerned in them.

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Be this as it may, with respect to our author; it will be sufficient for his readers to benefit by his abilities, his genius, and his learning, from a careful perusal of his writings; and to apply the result of their reading, according as the unprejudiced judgment of each shall direct. Where he affords them light, they will do well to follow it, and to improve it. If Dr. Jortin's theological opinions were not in perfect conformity with his subscriptions, (as others understand the formularies referred to,) that was his personal concern; and whether the dogmas of that church, of which he was a member, are agreeable to the word of God, and consistently required of protestants, it very nearly concerns the state to inquire. As she hath already interposed her authority, she alone is now competent to correct her own great error; for this most desirable reformation can only be effected by expunging from her laws every statute that presumes to impose upon the consciences of her subjects, or to retrench that liberty wherewith Christ hath made them free.

C O N T E N T S.

CHAPTER I.

Mr. Jortin's birth; education; elected fellow of Jesus college Cambridge; enters into orders; presented to the vicarage of Swavesey near Cambridge; marries; resigns Swavesey; appointed preacher at a chapel in New street, London; his early publications. 1698—1730. p. 1.

CHAP. II.

The publication of his "Miscellaneous observations on ancient and modern authors;" his "Remarks on Spencer and Milton;" and those on "Seneca." 1731—1734. p. 17.

CHAP. III.

Presented to the vicarage of Eastwell in Kent; appointed afternoon-preacher at the chapel in Oxenden street, London; publishes his "Discourses concerning the truth of the christian religion;" appointed afternoon-preacher at Lincoln's Inn; publishes a "sermon preached at the consecration of bishop Pearce;" appointed Boyle's lecturer; publishes the first volume of his "Remarks on ecclesiastical history;" presented to the rectory of St. Dunstan in the east. 1737—1751. p. 28.

CHAP. IV.

Publishes the second volume of his "Remarks on ecclesiastical history;" also short "Miscellaneous remarks

remarks on the sermons of archbishop Tillotson ;" and "a Letter on the music of the ancients;" publishes the third volume of his "Remarks on ecclesiastical history." 1752—1754. p. 99.

CHAP. V.

Admitted to the degree of doctor in divinity at Lambeth; publishes his "Six dissertations upon different subjects." 1755. p. 159.

CHAP. VI.

Publishes his "Life of Erasmus;" 1758—1760. p. 229.

CHAP. VII.

Collated to a prebend in St. Paul's, the vicarage of Kensington, and archdeaconry of London; publishes "Some remarks upon Phillips's life of cardinal Pole;" and a second edition of the first three volumes of his "Remarks on ecclesiastical history," in two volumes; his death and character. 1762—1770. p. 258.

CHAP. VIII.

The publication of his posthumous works, his "Sermons and charges," in 1771 and 1772; —the third and fourth volume of his "Remarks on ecclesiastical history," in 1773; and some new pieces in a republication of his "Tracts, philological, critical, and miscellaneous," in 1790. p. 286.

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JOHN JORTIN, the subject of these memoirs, was born in the parish of St. Giles in the fields in the county of Middlesex, October 23, 1698.

His father, Renatus Jortin, was a native of Bretagne in France, and had studied at Saumur. His testimonial from that academy is dated 1682, and is now in the possession of his descendents. He came into England a young man, along with his father, uncle, two aunts, and two sisters,

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about the year 1685, when the protestants fled from France, on account of the revocation of the edict of Nantz by Lewis the fourteenth. Soon after his settlement in this country, he married Martha daughter of the rev. Daniel Rogers of Haversham in Buckinghamshire, who descended from a family of the same name that resided at Lees near Chelmsford in Essex, in the reign of Henry the eighth, and had produced some clergymen, distinguished by their abilities and learning,

Mr. Renatus Jortin was appointed one of the gentlemen of the privy chamber to king William the third, in the year 1691*; and
was

* " After this, and before I was born, (says Dr. Jortin in his *Adversaria*) he took a fancy to change his name into JORDAIN, and to give it an English appearance; being fond I suppose of passing for an Englishman, as he spoke English perfectly, and without any foreign accent, This gave me some trouble afterwards when I went into deacon's orders under bishop Kennet, for the register of St. Giles in the fields wrote my name, as it stood there, *Jordain*. I gave the bishop an account how it came to pass. After my father's death, my mother thought it
proper

was, afterwards, successively secretary to admiral Edward Russell earl of Orford, sir George Rooke, and sir Cloudesley Shovel; and perished with the latter when his ship unfortunately struck upon the rocks, called "the bishop and his clerks," off Scilly, October 22, 1707.

After this melancholy event, Mrs. Jortin removed into the neighbourhood of the charter-house, the better to accommodate the education of her son, who was now nine years of age, and sent him to that seminary as a day-scholar. He learned French at home, and spake it well. At the age of fifteen he had completed his classical studies at school, after which he remained at home about a year, and perfected himself in writing and arithmetic.

On the 16th of May 1715, he was admitted pensioner of Jesus college in Cam-

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Bridge;

proper to assume the true name of Jortin; and she and I always wrote it so.

"I did not think there was any person left of our name, till lately (1770) I found in a new-paper, that a merchantman came to one of our ports, commanded by captain Jortin, from the West-Indies."

bridge; and distinguished himself so much by his abilities and application, that whilst he was an undergraduate, he was engaged by the recommendation of his tutor, the learned Dr. Styan Thirlby, to translate some of Eustathius's notes on Homer for Mr. Pope*.

Dr.

* Mr. Fenton, in a letter to Mr. Pope, says, "I have received a specimen of the extracts from Eustathius. The first gentleman who undertook the affair, grew weary, and now Mr. Thirlby, of Jesus, has recommended another to me with a very great character. I think, indeed, at first sight, that his performance is commendable enough, and have sent word for him to finish the seventeenth book, and to send it, with his demands for his trouble. He engageth to complete a book every month till christmas, and the remaining books in a month more, if you require them." See "Additions to the works of A. Pope, Esq. 1776." vol. ii. p. 106. Mr. Jortin's own account of his concern in this business, from his manuscript papers, as I find it in Nichols's "Anecdotes of Bowyer." p. 258. Note *. and in the 2d vol. of his Tracts, &c. p. 519—521. will be perfectly satisfactory. "What passed between Mr. Pope and me, I will endeavour to recollect, as well as I can; for it happened many years ago, and I never made any memorandum of it. When I was a soph at Cambridge, Pope was about his translation of Homer's Iliad, and had published part of it.

"He

Dr. Samuel Johnson, in his lives of the poets, has taken notice of this circumstance, but with all the acrimony towards Pope and coldness towards Jortin which are so frequently to be found in his writings, when he

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is

“ He employed some person (I know not who he was) to make extracts for him from Eustathius, which he inserted in his notes. At that time there was no latin translation of that commentator: *Alexander Politis*, (if I remember right, began that work some years afterwards, but never proceeded far in it. The person employed by Mr. Pope was not at leisure to go on with the work; and Mr. Pope (by his bookseller; I suppose) sent to Jefferies, a bookseller at Cambridge, to find out a student who would undertake the task. Jefferies applied to Dr. Thirlby, who was my tutor, and who pitched upon me. I would have declined the work, having, as I told my tutor, other studies to pursue, to fit me for taking my degree: But he;—*qui quicquid volebat valde volebat*,—would not hear of any excuse. So I complied. I cannot recollect what Mr. Pope allowed for each book of Homer; I have a notion that it was three or four guineas. I took as much care as I could to perform the task to his satisfaction: but I was ashamed to desire my tutor to give himself the trouble of overlooking my operations; and he, who always used to think and speak too favourably of me, said, that I did not want his help. He never perused one line of it, before it was printed; nor perhaps afterwards:

“ When

is speaking of men, in many respects, his superiors. "Notes," says he, "were likewise to be provided; for the six volumes would have been very little more than six pamphlets without them. What the mere perusal of the text could suggest, Pope wanted no assistance to collect or methodize; but more was necessary; many

"When I had gone through some books, (I forget how many) Mr. Jefferies let us know that Mr. Pope had a friend to do the rest, and that we might give over.

"When I sent my papers to Jefferies, to be conveyed to Mr. Pope, I inserted, as I remember, some remarks on a passage, where Mr. Pope, in my opinion, had made a mistake. But, as I was not directly employed by him, but by a bookseller, I did not inform him who I was, or set my name to my papers.

"When that part of Homer came out, in which I had been concerned, I was eager, as it may be supposed, to see how things stood; and much pleased to find that he had not only used almost all my notes, but had hardly made any alteration in the expressions. I observed also, that in a subsequent edition, he corrected the place to which I had made objections.

"I was in some hopes in those days (for I was young) that Mr. Pope would make inquiry about his *coadjutor*, and take some civil notice of him. But he did not; and I had no notion of obtruding myself upon him—I never saw his face."

many pages were to be filled, and learning must supply materials to wit and judgment. Something might be gathered from Dacier; but no man loves to be indebted to his contemporaries, and Dacier was accessible to common readers. Eustathius was therefore necessarily consulted. To read Eustathius, of whose work there was then no latin version, I suspect Pope, if he had been willing, not to have been able; some other was therefore to be found, who had leisure as well as abilities, and he was doubtless most readily employed who would do much work for little money.

“ The history of the notes has never been traced. Broome, in his preface to his poems, declares himself the commentator *in part upon the Iliad*; and it appears from Fenton's letter, preserved in the Museum, that Broome was at first engaged in consulting Eustathius; but after a time, whatever was the reason, he desisted: another man of Cambridge was then employed, who soon grew weary of the work; and a third was recommended by Thirlby, who is now discovered to have been Jortin, a man since

well known to the learned world, who complained that Pope, having accepted and approved his performance, never testified any curiosity to see him*.

Mr. Pope began his translation of the Iliad with notes in 1712, his twenty fifth year, and concluded it in 1718, his thirtieth year†. This circumstance ascertains with sufficient accuracy, that Mr. Jortin was not more than eighteen or nineteen years of age, when the good opinion of his tutor had recommended him to this literary exercise.

Mr. Jortin was admitted to the degree of bachelor of arts, in January 1718-19; and was elected fellow of Jesus college October 9, 1721. He proceeded to take the degree of master of arts at the commencement 1722.

On the tenth of October 1722, Mr. Jortin was appointed one of the moderators, at the disputations in the sophs' school, and, at michaelmas in the succeeding year, he was elected one of the taxors. The learned Dr.

Edmund

* Johnson's "Lives of the English Poets," vol. iv. 8vo. p. 42. and 43.

† Ib. p. 44.

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Edmund Law, late bishop of Carlisle, who took his first degree in arts 1723, told me, some few years before his death, that he kept an opponyency under Mr. Jortin when moderator, and though he was every way eminently qualified to discharge the duty of his office, was a man of few words. The bishop added, however, in the course of our conversation, that, in consequence of that exercise, Mr. Jortin recommended him in the university, and thereby laid the foundation of his future advancement.

In the course of the year 1722, Mr. Jortin published a few latin poems, which were well received, entitled "Lusus Poetici," in a thin quarto of twenty four pages, with a preface: a second edition appeared in 1724, in a small octavo:* and a third in 1748, in quarto,

* During Mr. Jortin's residence at Cambridge, a stupid and abusive poem was left at a coffee-house, composed by one M***** of Sidney college, commonly called Sawney M*****; in which a great many scurrilous freedoms were taken with several poetical adventurers, and with Jortin among the rest, who wrote, at the bottom of this miserable performance, the following lines;

"Angry

104 q. 1. Nov. 1733

quarto, printed by Bowyer,* with additional poems, but without the preface. His name is prefixed only to the first edition; the two last were printed to be given to his friends.†

In a more recent edition of his "*Lusus Poetici*," republished in the first volume of "*Traacts, &c.*" 1790 (p. 1---53.) the editor has introduced five additional poems which were "found among the author's papers, and deemed not unworthy of a place amidst their predecessors." At the end of the same volume, (p. 460-470.) he has preserved some translations from the originals.

Dr.

"Angry reformer of the times!
The lord have mercy on thy rhymes!
Thy verses have an ague got,
They are so very cold and hot."

† See Nichols's "*Anecdotes of Bowyer*," p. 207. and p. 259. note *.

† The Editor of Vincent Bourne's "*Miscellaneous poems*," published in quarto, 1772. p. 314. has by mistake, reprinted with some variations, the third ode of Jotin's, *Qualis per nemorum*, &c. as the production of Mr. Bourne, under the title of "*Votum*." See *Gent's Mag.* for 1776. p. 496. A beautiful translation of this ode, see "*Traacts*" &c. vol. i. p. 461.

Dr. Vicefinus Knox, who is certainly a writer of classic taste, and one whom we shall have occasion to mention more than once in these memoirs, (says in some "Cursory remarks on the life and writings of Dr. Jortin,") that "his latin poetry is classically elegant;" and has observed that "the first efforts of genius have commonly been in poetry. Unrestrained by the frigidity of argument, and the confinement of rules, the young mind gladly indulges the flights of imagination.* Cicero, as well as many other ancient philosophers, orators, and historians, is known to have sacrificed to the muses in his earlier productions. Dr. Jortin," says he "adds to the number of those who confirm the observation. In his *Lusus Poetici*, one of the first of his works, are united classical

* In confirmation of this remark,---"Some of Milton's latin poems were written in his first year at Cambridge, when he was only seventeen: they must be allowed to be very correct and manly performances, for a youth of that age. And, considered in that view, they discover an extraordinary copiousness and command of ancient fable and history." See Warton's Preface (p. xviii) to his edition of Milton's "Poems upon several occasions." 1785.

fical language, tender sentiment, and harmonious verse. Among the modern latin poets, there are few who do not yield to Dr. Jortin. His sapphics, on the story of Bacchus and Ariadne, are easy, elegant, and poetical. The little ode, in which the calm life of the philosopher is compared to the gentle stream gliding through a silent grove, is highly pleasing to the mind, and is perfectly elegant in the composition. The Lyrics are indeed all excellent. The poem on the immortality of the soul is ingenious, poetical, and an exact imitation of the style of Lucretius. In short, the whole collection is such as would scarcely have disgraced a Roman in the age of an Augustus."*

Mr. Jortin was ordained deacon by Dr. White Kennet, bishop of Peterborough, September 22d. 1723; and priest by Dr. Thomas Greene, bishop of Ely, June 24. 1724. On the 20th of January 1726-7, he was presented by the master and fellows of Jesus college to the vicarage of Swavesey near

* See "Essays moral and literary." vol. i. Essay xviii. 2d. edit, 1779. or vol. ii. Essay cxv. 4th edit. 1784.

near Cambridge, and in January 1727-8, agreeably to the statutes, he resigned his fellowship.

About the month of February 1728, he married Ann daughter of Mr. Chibnall of Newport-Pagnell in Buckinghamshire.* On the 1st of February 1730-1, he resigned his vicarage of Swavesey, and not long after settled

* In the first volume of the "Miscellaneous observations," p. 379. and in the first volume of "Tracts" &c. p. 47. "the following inscription is submitted to the judgment of the learned." It was republished, as we are informed by the very ingenious Mr. Thomas Warton, in his "Inscriptionum Romanarum metricarum Delectus." London, 1758; as an *ancient* inscription.

INSCRIPTIONIS FRAGMENTUM

D.M.

* * * * *

QUÆ. TE. SVB. TENERA. RAPVERVNT. PAETA. IVVENTA.
O. VTINAM. ME. CRVDELIA. FATA. VOCENT.
VT. LINQVAM. TERRAS. INVISQVE. LVMINA. SOLIS.
VTQVE. TVVS. RVRSVM. CORPORE. SIM. POSITO.
TV. CAVE. LETHÆO. CONTINGAS. ORA. LIQVORE.
ET. CITO. VENTVRI. SIS. MEMOR. ORO. VIRI.
TE. SEQVAT. OBSCVRVM. PER. ITH. DVX. IBIT. EVNTI.
FIDVS. AMOR. TENEBRAS. LAMPADE. DISCVTIENS.

In

settled in London, where he was engaged as reader and preacher at a chapel belonging to the parish of St. Giles in the fields, then in New-street, near great Ruffel-street, Bloomsbury. In this situation he continued till 1746:

On Mr. Jortin's removal to London he published "Four sermons on the truth of the

In Dodsley's "Collection of poems," vol. iv. p. 188. and in Dr. Jortin's "Tracts," &c. vol. i. p. 472. is a beautiful translation of the preceding inscription by the Rev. Mr. Merrick.

Thee, ΠΑΡΤΑ, death's relentless hand

Cut off in earliest bloom :

Oh! had the fates for me ordain'd

To share an equal doom ;

With joy this busy world I'd leave,

This hated light resign,

To lay me in the peaceful grave,

And be for ever thine.

Do thou, if Lethe court thy lip,

To taste its stream forbear :

Still in thy soul his image keep,

Who hastes to meet thee there.

Safe o'er the dark and dreary shore

In quest of thee I'll roam ;

Love with his lamp shall run before,

And break the circling gloom.

the christian religion," in a small volume in duodecimo. These sermons are no longer to be consulted in the form in which they first appeared ; they have been inserted with advantage in some of our author's subsequent publications. But though we shall have occasion to speak of these at large hereafter, it may not be amiss to observe where they are severally to be found, very considerably enlarged and improved.

The first sermon is on John xv. 24. and discusses the nature of miracles, and the evidence of the credibility of the gospel from those wrought by Jesus Christ. These observations and arguments are incorporated into the second volume of the " Remarks on ecclesiastical history," where the subject is treated more at large. In the second sermon, (on Luke xi. 32.) the preacher takes a short view of the idolatry which prevailed before the coming of Christ, observing by the way, that religious worship was due only to the one supreme being ; and considers the calling of the gentiles, as it was foretold by the prophets, and accomplished by Christ, as
favourable

favorable to the better advancement of the knowledge of the true God. The subject of this sermon will be found in the second "Discourse on the truth of the christian religion."—The third sermon treats of the miracles done by Christ and his apostles, (having for its text, John x. 25.) but these are also considered more at large in the second volume of "Remarks on ecclesiastical history:" the jews' motives for rejecting them constitute a part of the first "discourse on the truth of the christian religion." The fourth sermon, on John v. 33. which treats of the testimony and credit of John the baptist, now makes the fifth of the "discourses."

CHAPTER II.

The publication of his "Miscellaneous observations upon authors ancient and modern;" his "Remarks on Spencer and Milton;" and those on Seneca, 1731—1734.

IN the years 1731, and 1732, Mr. Jortin, in conjunction with some literary friends, published in a series of twenty-four sixpenny numbers, "Miscellaneous observations upon authors ancient and modern;" making together two volumes in octavo. They have been much esteemed by the learned both at home and abroad; and though the scarcity of these volumes, has arisen from a wasteful and tasteless destruction of several copies, as I was credibly informed by the late Mr. Lockyer Davis, they have of late years been much sought after.

To enter into critical investigation into the merit of these papers separately, would be, from the nature of the work, to undertake a

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very laborious task, and, in several respects, a very useless one; and to lose all benefit from our author's own distinction between *absolute* and *relative dryness* in writings intended for the public eye.*

To

* "*Dry criticism*," says Mr. Jortin in his preface to the second volume of the observations, "is laid to my charge, and it falls as much upon the best critics as upon me. Nicolas Heinsius, and Isaac Casaubon, and Joseph Scaliger, and Lipsius, and Salmasius, and Grotius, and Dr. Bentley, have written notes, which however superior to mine in other respects, yet can no more claim an exemption from dryness than mine."

"I had once a design to attack this objection in form, and to throw a whole pamphlet at it, entitled, *Περὶ τοῦ Ξηροῦ*. But having laid that thought aside, I intend to dispatch it in fewer words.

"I beg leave to distinguish and divide *dryness* in writing into *absolute dryness* and *relative dryness*. Writings are *absolutely dry* which are so in themselves: writings are *relatively dry* which appear so to this or that reader.

"Most writings are *relatively dry*, but they are so in an infinite variety of degrees. - Historians, orators and poets stand the best chance of pleasing: critics, grammarians, antiquaries, logicians, and mathematicians are entertaining to one in a thousand.

"A book is not the worse in itself, whatever it may be to the bookseller, for being *relatively dry*, even to a great degree.

To the critical scholar these fragments are valuable, and he alone is competent to receive pleasure and advantage from the perusal of them. A general account of them will convey sufficient information, and abundantly answer the expectation of the general reader. The classic scholar must be referred

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gree. *Relative dryness* in books, is like *secondary qualities* in bodies, something which really does not belong to them.

" Since we can only judge of the *dryness* of books (if we judge for ourselves) by the effects they have upon us, and since a book may be *dry* to one, and not *dry* to another, it must be very difficult to come to the knowledge of absolute *dryness*. I am afraid that no rule can be laid down about it, which is not liable to some exception. The best criterion that I can think of, at present, is this: if all men of sense and learning join to condemn a book as a *dry* one, that book is in great danger of being *absolutely dry*.

" That the Miscellaneous observations are *relatively dry* is a plain case. But whether they be *absolutely dry*, is a question, which I think those gentlemen will not of themselves find easy to decide; for I dare say, that they are too candid judges, and too good logicians, to infer, that their sentiments, and those of their friends, are the voice of the world.

Nul n'aura de l'esprit que nous et nos amis,

is a rule, which I am persuaded they will not care to go by."

to the observations themselves, which, from the miscellaneous nature of them, it is impossible to abridge or analyze.

When Mr. Jortin, in his preface to the work now before us, renounces all pretensions to the name of critic, common prudence would recommend caution, even to scholars, in assuming a character in literature, which our author thought himself unequal to sustain. "I pretend not," says he, to the title of a critic; many things, in which I know myself to be deficient, go to the making of a critic; an extensive knowledge, a thorough skill in learned languages, a happy sagacity, a sound judgment, an obstinate application to study. Even all this is not enough, if some of the learned may be believed: a critic, according to them, is one who knows every thing, at least, not a little of every thing; who, like the wise man of the stoics, is not only a great orator, philosopher, logician, &c. but a tolerable taylor and shoemaker."*

The contributors to these "Miscellaneous observations" having set only initial letters

* See preface to the first volume, p. 4.

letters or feigned signatures to their respective papers, we will state in the margin all the information we are in possession of respecting the names of the several writers upon the authority of Mr. Nichols.† Such as are not now appropriated, will probably remain unknown. Those papers which bear

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no

† See Nichols's "Anecdotes of Bowyer." p. 259. note †. Where the different signatures, are, in part, explained as follows:—

A. and R. Bishop Z. Pearce,
Cantabrigienfis. Dr. Taylor.

Animadversiones in Luciani Asinum, vol. 1. p. 73, without a name: by the same.

B, C. G. Dr. Robinson, editor of Hesiod. (I have not observed the letter G.)

D. Mr. Jos. Wasse.

L. T. Mr. Theobald,

J. M. Maffon.

T. R. Mr. Rud, (the editor of Symeon Dunelmensis, 1732.

J. Walker.

R. G. Brampton Gurdon.

S. B. Mr. Samuel Baxter.

J. U. Mr. Upton.

n. Dr. Thirlby.

F. }

n. } unknown.

F. P. }

no signature, may generally be ascribed to the editor, Mr. Jortin. I do not recollect that he speaks of the writers in this work in any part of his other publications, more than once; "the learned Joseph Wasse," says, he, "with two or three others, offered his assistance very kindly to the author of the miscellaneous observations, who had not many friends to advise him and to countenance him; no small discouragement to a young writer, and no bad excuse for the defects in that work *."

This store of critical learning was translated into latin, and printed at Amsterdam, entitled, "*Miscellanæ observationes in auctores veteres et recentiores; ab eruditis Britannis, anno 1731, edi coeptæ, cum notis et auctario variorum virorum doctorum.*" 1732. The first four volumes are employed in the republication of the pieces in Mr. Jortin's two volumes, and this part was completed 1734. When Mr. Jortin declined the english publication, the foreign one

* See Remarks on E. H. vol. ii. edit. 1752. p. 21. note (a).

one was still continued by the editor Jac. Phil. D'Orville, assisted by the learned Burman, under the title of "*Miscellaneæ observationes criticæ in auctores veteres et recentiores: ab eruditis Britannis inchoatæ, et nunc a doctis viris in Belgio et aliis regionibus, continuatæ:*" which last work was completed in six additional volumes in 1739. And between the years 1740 and 1751, the prosecution of this miscellaneous and critical work, was pursued to the extent of four more volumes, assuming a further variation in the title, "*Miscellaneæ observationes criticæ novæ in auctores veteres et recentiores. In Belgio collectæ et proditæ.*"

In the second volume of the posthumous re-publication of "*Tracts philological, critical, and miscellaneous,*" (p. 45—528.) a great number of the papers in the two original volumes are reprinted, and distinctly arranged and entitled "*Critical remarks on greek authors, on latin authors, and on modern authors.*" In the language of the editor, "the second volume consists partly of extracts from Dr. Jortin's manuscripts;

partly of other extracts from the 'Miscellaneous observations upon authors;' and by such of the literati as have read those observations, the new matter now introduced will perhaps be considered as a valuable supplement.* It is, however, to be wished that the "Miscellaneous observations" had been reprinted entire, or that the omissions and transpositions of papers had been noticed in a classed table for that purpose, corresponding with those in the former volumes.

It will be sufficient barely to mention here, that during the publication of the "miscellaneous observations" in numbers, there were printed some anonymous "Remarks" upon them in a pamphlet of upwards of sixty pages. They are not, however, deserving of any particular notice; for though the writer may have possessed some learning, he does not appear to have applied it with any distinguishing judgment or acuteness.

Our author's skill and taste for critical learning were again exhibited in some excellent

* See advertisement prefixed to vol. i. of "Tracts" &c. p. v. and vi.

cellent "Remarks on Spencer's poems *," published in 1734, in octavo, to which were subjoined "Remarks on Milton †." And in a periodical work, entitled, "The present state of the republic of Letters," for August in the same year, he published "Remarks on Seneca." ‡

Of Mr. Jortin's criticisms upon those rare english classics, Spencer and Milton, it would be trifling to offer any praise, after the testimony born to their excellence by the late bishop Newton and Mr. Thomas Warton.

Bishop Newton speaks of the assistance which he had received from Mr. Jortin in his publication of Milton's Poems, with a just and grateful sense of his abilities and taste; "I am obliged too," says he, "to Mr.

* Reprinted in "Tracts philological, &c." vol. i. p. 54---285. with additional notes, by anonymous, p. 287---306.

† Reprinted in "Tracts philological, &c." vol. i. p. 307---345.

‡ Article ix. signed J.---reprinted in "Tracts philological, &c. p. 404---424. where it is incorporated with two other short papers on Seneca's tragedies from "Misc. Observations," vol. i. p. 55, and 127.

Mr. Jortin for some remarks which he conveyed to me by the hands of Dr. Pearce (afterwards bishop of Rochester.) They are chiefly upon Milton's imitation of the ancients ; but every thing that proceeds from him is of value, whether in poetry, criticism, or divinity ; as appears from his " *Lusus Poetici*," his " *Miscellaneous observations upon authors*," and his " *Discourses concerning the truth of the christian religion* *." And the same editor of Milton's poetical works says elsewhere " The notes, as upon the " *Paradise lost*," so likewise upon the " *Paradise regained*," and other poems, are of various authors, and of various kinds ; but these, excepting only a few, were never printed before, and have therefore novelty to recommend them ; as well as some names of the first rank and greatest eminence in the republic of letters. The truth of my assertion will be fully justified, by mentioning only the names of Mr. Warburton and Mr. Jortin ; who, while they are employed in writing the most learned and elaborate defences

* See his preface to his edition of Milton's Poems.

fences of religion, yet find leisure to cultivate the politer arts; and to promote and improve, both in themselves and others, a classical taste of the finest authors. And, whatever may be the success, I can never repent of having engaged in this undertaking, which hath given me so many convincing proofs of their friendship and kindness; and at the same time hath happily conjoined,—what perhaps might never else have been joined together,—*my* studies, and *my* name, with *theirs**.”

Mr. Thomas Warton, speaking of the poems of Milton says, “such respectable names as Jortin, Warburton, and Hurd, conspired in examining their excellencies, in adjusting their claims to praise, and extending their reputation†.” And Dr. Knox remarks, that Mr. Jortin’s “Observations on one of the fathers of english poetry, need but to be more generally known, in order to be more generally approved‡.”

* See Preface to “Paradise regained,” vol. iii.

† See Warton’s edition of Milton’s “Poems on several occasions,” 8vo. 1785. preface p. x.

‡ See Knox’s *Essays moral and literary*. vol. ii. *Ess.* cxv.

CHAPTER III.

Presented to the vicarage of Eastwell, in Kent; appointed afternoon preacher at the chapel in Oxenden-street, London; publishes his "Discourses concerning the truth of the christian religion;" appointed afternoon preacher at Lincoln's Inn; publishes a sermon preached at the consecration of bishop Pearce; appointed Boyle's lecturer; publishes the first volume of his "Remarks on ecclesiastical history; presented to the rectory of St. Dunstan in the East. 1737—1751.

MR. JORTIN was presented by the earl of Winchelsea to the vicarage of Eastwell in Kent, worth about one hundred and twenty pounds a year, some time in 1737, but, the air of the place not agreeing with his health, he soon resigned it, and returned to London.

He,

He, therefore, continued to officiate at the chapel in New-street, until he was appointed (March 20, 1746-7.) by his friend Dr. Zachary Pearce, then rector of St. Martin's in the fields, afternoon preacher at a chapel of ease belonging to that parish in Oxenden-street, in the place of the rev. — Johnson, then lately deceased; in which situation he continued till 1760.

In the year 1746, Mr. Jortin published his "Discourses concerning the truth of the christian religion," which included the substance of the "Four discourses" before mentioned, and have since passed through several editions.* Bishop Watson has repeatedly, and very deservedly, classed Jortin among some great and eminent names who have honourably and successfully laboured to establish the truth, and illustrate the doctrines of christianity:† and bishop Law, while

* The *second* edition was published the next year 1747; the *third* 1752; the *fourth*, 1768.

† See bishop Watson's "Collection of tracts," vol. i. pref. p. xii. and vol. v. p. iii. of the accounts of the contents.

while engaged in the same service, very justly pronounces him "a very learned and ingenious writer."* Dr. Knox, does not hesitate to say that his "Discourses on the christian religion, one of the first fruits of his theological pursuits, abound with that sound sense and solid argument, which entitled their author to a rank very near the celebrated Grotius."†

These discourses have received much advantage from the accession of additional matter, and their present arrangement. They contain a valuable collection of facts, and very masterly display of arguments upon some very interesting parts of the inquiry into the evidences and truths of christianity; concerning which, "if he has advanced any wrong notions, there is reason to hope," as he expresses himself, "that they proceed not from a bad mind, but are ONLY THE ISSUES OF UNFORTUNATE INQUIRY."

In

* See bishop Law's "Considerations on the theory of religion." 5th edit. p. 326.

† See Knox's "Essays moral and literary," vol. ii. Essay cxv.

In the first discourse, ON THE PREJUDICES OF THE JEWS AND GENTILES, our author ascribes the rejection of the gospel by the jews to their wickedness, and to several prejudices which they had against the person of Christ and the doctrines of the gospel. Those against the former, were such as, that none of the rulers or pharisees believed on him; his poverty and ignominious death; because, as they said, he profaned the sabbath day; did not live in a way sufficiently austere; because they knew whence he came, had dwelt in Galilee and at Nazareth; because he hinted that he was a much greater person than they imagined; and also because the christians worshipped more Gods than one, and ascribed divine perfections to Christ.*

This

* The words of Mr. Jortin elsewhere, on the absurd notions of the heathens, conclude as forcibly when applied to the equally absurd notions of the greater part of the christians, from the time of the Nicene council to our own, inclusive. "It is so agreeable to reason," says he, to believe that there is one supreme independent being, disposer, ruler and preserver of all things, to whom alone religious worship

This last stated objection of the jews, so far as they thought themselves right in the fact, is the most important reason among all those assigned by them, or by others for them, in excuse for their rejecting the christian revelation. But, whatever opinion the jews might entertain of the sentiments and practices of the early christians in this respect, it has been proved to demonstration that the christians of the three first centuries were UNITARIANS.* However, upon the presumption

worship is due, that it may seem very strange that men should have erred in this point, and fallen into all those absurd notions which the heathens entertained concerning their gods." "Four Sermons," p. 25. Strange that christians, under the further light of revelation, should continue to entertain similar conceits; for it is very true, as bishop Watson justly observes, "that the books of nature and revelation equally elevate our conceptions, and incite our piety; they mutually illustrate each other; they have an equal claim to our regard, for they are both written by the finger of the ONE ETERNAL INCOMPREHENSIBLE GOD, TO WHOM BE GLORY FOR EVER. Amen." "Chemical Essays," vol. i. preface.

* See Dr. Priestley's "Letters to Dr. Horsley," which remain unrefuted, and, if some more doughty champion than the

sumption that the charge of polytheism was brought home by the jews against the christians, Mr. Jortin replies to it by fancifully explaining the various angelic appearances to Adam, to Abraham, to Moses, to the elders of Israel, to the patriarchs and prophets, as being in fact no other than "the word of God, the son of God, who was in the form of God, who was the visible image of the invisible God, representing the majesty of his father, and acting in his name."

But, notwithstanding all that has been written by several very learned and very liberal

the bishop of St. David's does not buckle on his armour, and take up the gauntlet, will, and must remain to be considered as unanswerable. Such vanquished knights as bishop Horsley, who are violent at the outset and only cool in obstinate perseverance, scarcely serve to grace the victory at a tournament. To him may very properly be applied, what has been said of ancient chivalry; "if he were in jest, he has done too much; if he were in earnest, he has done too little." See also Dr. Priestley's several "Defences of unitarianism," "and History of early opinions concerning Jesus Christ," and particularly his invaluable little tract, entitled, "A general view of the arguments for the unity of God."—To these add also Mr. Wakefield's "Inquiry into the opinions of the christian writers of the three first centuries." 8vo. 1784.

liberal-minded christians, this objection of the jews, applied to that period of the church when this notion had actually crept in, remains in its full force, and is at this instant the great hindrance to their conversion, and, (superadded to the prohibition of polygamy and divorce,) to the conversion of the mahometans also.

The prejudices of the jews against the doctrines of the gospel, respected its spirituality and its morality, and other circumstances of the like sort. But the scribes and pharisees were moved from personal considerations of anger and interest, having been repeatedly reproved by Christ, and having their own system to support in their own defence.

When it is observed by our author, that "the jews are not able to give any reason why they acknowledge the law of Moses to be a divine revelation, which will not directly, and more strongly establish the truth and authority of the gospel," many christians, being more taken with the flattering turn of the remark, than studious to inquire whether it can be universally supported, will be ready to

to concur with him. And besides, it is, generally speaking, much more easy and expeditious to cut a knot than to untie it. But the truth is, that so long as the doctrine of the trinity is considered as constituting any part of christianity, as it does of certain established churches; or indeed so long as Jesus Christ is elevated above the person and character he declared himself to be, the jews will never acknowledge him to be the messiah; the difficulties recur again and again, and are insurmountable. Until the christian faith is tendered to the understandings of men, in its original simplicity and lustre, it is hoping against hope to entertain any expectation of the conversion of jew, or turk, or infidel.

The rejection of the christian revelation by the gentiles was occasioned by some things in common with the jews, such as a great corruption of manners, prejudice of education, the temporal inconveniences which attended the profession of christianity, and the temporal advantages which might be secured or obtained by rejecting or opposing it; and by some things

peculiar to themselves, such as the opinions of the philosophers; the ill usage of the emperors Trajan, Titus, Antoninus, and Marcus Aurelius, from whom better things might have been expected; a great carelessness and indifference about all religion in general; and even the bad opinion which many of them had of the jews; the novelty of the christian religion, its plainness and simplicity, and because it rejected all gods but one.*

THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL is the subject of the *second* discourse; and in this inquiry, the swift and successful progress of it in the conversion of the gentiles, and the assistance it received from miracles; the difficulties arising from superstition and prejudice of education, and the low circumstances

* This indeed appears to be the true state of the case, for the christian scriptures speak of no other than one God, and the christians of the three first centuries acknowledged no other besides him. Thus, while the jews falsely imputed to the christians the worship of more gods than one, and therefore rejected their faith; the polytheism of the heathens was offended because they really worshipped only ONE GOD, THE CREATOR AND GOVERNOR OF THE WORLD.

stances of its teachers; the different nations and ranks of people who received it; the few indulgences it afforded; the vicious characters of the gentiles, and the persecution which attended its promulgation, are fairly stated and considered.

So likewise are the circumstances which contributed to its establishment, such as, the prophecies concerning the calling of the gentiles and the miracles wrought by christians; the conformity between the theological doctrines of revealed religion, and the opinion of some, or other, of the wiser gentiles in various ages and places; the precepts of christianity being for the most part agreeable to the doctrines which some of the best pagan authors had delivered; the number of gentiles who were profelytes to the jewish religion so far, that they worshipped the God of Israel, and renounced the follies and vices of paganism; the importance of the truths contained in the gospel; the amiable character of the apostles and the christians of that age; and also its being a dispensation, every way, highly worthy of him from

whom it proceeded, and as suitable to those to whom it was offered,—which are all so many circumstances that contributed to its establishment, and so many testimonies of its excellence.

The *third* discourse treats of **THE KINGDOM OF CHRIST**, in which is considered the commencement and duration of it; and the particular characters which should distinguish it from all others.

The kingdom which our lord is supposed by some, (and among these by our author,) to have had from the beginning, as he was the word, or son, of God, and the person by whom God made all things, is passed over with only mentioning it. Indeed, this simple recital of what is more than disputed by many christians, is sufficient.* The commencement of this kingdom, in the sense in which he is now considering it, is commonly stated to have been

* See Mr. Tyrwhitt's very excellent "Explanation of St. Paul's doctrine concerning the creation of all things by Jesus Christ;" in "Commentaries and Essays," vol. ii. p. 9---14.

been from his ascension into heaven; but Mr. Jortin is more disposed to date it from his birth, and is confirmed therein by some circumstances of his life.*

But, it is of more importance to us rightly to apprehend the nature of his kingdom, than the precise time of its commencement. "His kingdom was not like the kingdoms of this world, as he declared to Pilate; it was not erected in opposition to the Roman, or to any other human government. This is that good confession (says Mr. Jortin), which, as St. Paul observes, he witnessed before Pontius Pilate."

With respect to what our lord says of "the glory which he had with his father before the world was; (John xvii. 5.) and which Mr. Jortin does not fail to refer to, as indeed it is the great sheet anchor of arianism, it must suffice to observe, that it has been shewn and demonstrated, as Lardner says,

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that

* See, however, a tract on this subject in the Theological repository, (vol. vi. p. 244—284.) subscribed IDIOTA, where the writer treats the establishment of Christ's kingdom, as an event still *future*.

that this prayer of Christ " may very well be understood, according to the Jewish phraseology, of the glory always designed for the Christ by the immutable purpose of God, And, that our lord had not, before his nativity, the glory, which he here prays for, is apparent from the whole tenor of the gospel, and from clear and manifest expressions in the context.*"

The principal characters of Christ's kingdom are that it was not established like earthly kingdoms, by human policy and human force, but was to be erected in the hearts, and over the consciences, of men; that it would be universal; and that it would be a kingdom of righteousness and peace.

Concerning the completion of these prophecies, there arises a difficulty, when we compare the predictions with the event. He, therefore,

* See Dr. Lardner's " Letter on the logos," in the eleventh volume of his works, edit. 1788, p. 91 and 92. Cardale's " True doctrine of the new Testament," 2d edit. 1771. p. 89. and his " Comment on Christ's prayer," p. 72---104. Lindsey's " Sequel," p. 239--259. his " Historical view," p. 225---227. and his " Examination of Robinson's plea," p. 162---164.

therefore, states the objections fully, though briefly, and then proceeds to the solution of them.

It being also prophesied, in connection with the aforesaid characters of his kingdom, that he should be a conqueror; a prosperous and victorious king, who should subdue all his enemies; many acts as of regal authority are enumerated, answering to such descriptions, and which have had their signal completion.

“ We are taught,” says our author, “ to pray daily that the kingdom of God, or of Christ, may come; in which words we pray that the gospel of Christ may flourish more and more, and that the number of his servants may increase continually. But to pray for this,” adds he, “ is not enough; we cannot indeed pray for it with any sincerity, unless we use our best endeavours to accomplish these pious wishes.”

The *fourth* discourse is upon THE FITNESS OF THE TIME WHEN CHRIST CAME INTO THE WORLD. An event which corresponded with the prophecies of Daniel, Haggai, and Malachi. As to the fitness of time

time in other respects, "the scriptures," he observes, "say little; and we can only offer conjectures, which ought to have no more authority than they are found, upon examination, to have of probability."

The arguments here offered are as judicious in themselves, as they are modestly suggested.

(1) That our lord came when men had been prepared by a long series of prophecies to expect and receive him: (2.) When the jews wanted the messias as a moral instructor: (3) When religion and morality were universally corrupted and greatly wanted reformation: (4.) When knowledge was considerably increased among the heathens, though they were greatly corrupted in their lives. For truth and learning are friends; error and imposture flourish under the protection of ignorance. (5.) At the time when our lord came, the insufficiency of the jewish religion, of ancient tradition, and of philosophy, fully appeared. And, lastly, "when our lord came, the most civilized and the most populous parts of Europe and Asia were under one government, and ruled by common

common laws which in the main were just and good, the times were more quiet and happy than they had been, commerce flourished, and travelling was made easy and safe; and this state of things was favourable to christianity, and afforded opportunities to lay the foundation of it, and to spread it speedily and effectually.*

THE TESTIMONY OF JOHN THE BAPTIST, being one of the proofs of our lord's mission which were appealed to by himself, is here considered separately in the *fifth* discourse. The general prophecies concerning Christ were so descriptive of him, and no other, that, as our author shrewdly observes, "whoever can ascribe the fulfilment of them to *chance*, ought not to object credulity to christians."

* So much of these arguments as relate to the circumstances of the Roman empire being favorable to the rise and spread of christianity, are further considered in the first pages of the first volume of "Remarks on E. H." And there is an excellent sermon on "the situation of the world at the time of Christ's appearance, and its connection with the success of religion;" preached 1755, by Dr. Robertson of Edinburgh, and republished in "the Scotch preacher," vol. i. serm. iv.

christians." But the evidence of miracles, prophecy, and his own fore-knowledge of future events, being elsewhere discussed, Mr. Jortin here examines apart the testimony of John. And, that he was an unexceptionable witness, appears no less from the testimony itself which he bore of Jesus Christ, than from the account of the life and character of the baptist. These are candidly stated, as is also the objection which is sometimes made to the competency of his evidence, on account of the message which he sent by his disciples when he was in prison, to inquire of our lord himself, whether he was "he that was to come, or they were to look for another?" Several judicious interpretations of this passage, (Luke vii. 19.) are exhibited, which make the account recorded by the evangelist, perfectly consistent with the credit of the baptist *.

The

* The testimony of John the baptist is more largely considered in a valuable publication upon the subject, by Dr. Bell, prebendary of Westminster, entitled, "An enquiry into the divine mission of John the baptist, and Jesus Christ." 8vo. 1761. It cannot be denied to the very ingenious

The *sixth* discourse contains a series of observations which relate to the truth, the importance, and the authority of the scriptures of the new Testament, which are considered pretty much at large, as the nature of the general observation requires. (1) That the books of the new Testament were written by those to whom they are ascribed, that is, by apostles, or by believers who conversed with the apostles: (2) that the main parts of the christian religion, at least enough to establish its truth, may be found in almost each single book or treatise contained in the new Testament: (3) that the books of the new Testament descended to us uncorrupted in any thing material: (4) that the truth of the things contained in these books depends upon the integrity of the apostles, who did and suffered so much for the sake of the gospel: (5) that there never was a book which abounded more with internal proofs of

genious author that he hath succeeded in his hopes of serving the christian religion by "adding another motive to the power of its influence, and another ray to the splendor of its evidence."

of the truth of its contents than the new Testament : (6) that if we should suppose that the writers of the new Testament had no extraordinary assistance from God in composing their books and epistles, the prophetic parts excepted, the truth of the christian religion in general might still be proved ; there would still be sufficient evidence that Christ came from God to teach men to live soberly, righteously, and piously, that he wrought miracles, that he died and rose again, that his apostles received supernatural powers by which they were enabled to propagate the gospel : (7) that admitting the scriptures are often obscure and difficult, occasioned by the subject or the style, or by such difficulties as are common to all books, which are very ancient and written in dead languages ; yet many parts are clear, and particularly those which relate to morality, and to practical religion.

THE GOSPEL CONSIDERED AS IT IS GRACE AND TRUTH, is the subject of the *seventh* and *last* discourse of this volume.

“ The word GRACE, in its most obvious
acceptation,

acceptation, means favor, favor flowing from mercy and beneficence, to which the person who receives it can make no claim, as of right. In this sense, the gospel is most particularly and emphatically GRACE in all and every part of it, it is a gift of God which we could not in any manner be said to deserve. The gospel is also GRACE as it promiseth to repenting sinners not only an exemption from punishment, but a resurrection to eternal happiness." And, further, "as it promises us, if we humbly and sincerely desire it, the divine assistance, which shall comfort us in afflictions and support us under temptations, and enable us to work out our salvation, and to pass safely through this state of trial to a state of happiness. The gospel may be called GRACE with respect to the manner in which it was revealed. So also, as it contains righteous and equitable laws: and as it is a gift offered to all, an invitation from which none are excluded."

"Grace, in some places of the new Testament, means those extraordinary powers which were conferred upon the apostles and
first

first believers ; and sometimes means goodness or moral virtue. In the former sense, it was exercised in the promulgation of christianity ; in the latter, the gospel is grace, as it sets morality in a clear light, and enforces the practice of it, by the best and most effectual motives.

The doctrine of future punishments contained in the gospel, has been objected against the gospel, as it is GRACE ; Mr. Jortin has stated this objection, and answered it with clearness and conciseness.

The gospel is called TRUTH, in opposition to the falsehood of paganism ; and as it is the accomplishment of the prophecies of future favors made under the law. It is also the TRUTH in opposition to the jewish dispensation, as it is the substance and reality of all those things which are figured by the law ; or as they were mere shadows compared to that solid, and substantial truth which Christ has discovered to us.

In the inquiry into the truth of the gospel, opposed to the falsehood of paganism, our author has displayed much sound learning,
and

and made many fine remarks on the being of God, his unity, his excellence and goodness; and on the clear knowledge of a future state.

MR. WARBURTON, then preacher at Lincoln's Inn, engaged Mr. Jortin, in the year 1747, to assist him occasionally at the chapel there, and he continued his assistant about three years.

UPON the translation of Dr. Matthew Hutton from the see of Bangor to the archbishopric of York, Dr. Zachary Pearce was appointed to succeed him. Dr. Pearce requested Mr. Jortin to preach the sermon at his consecration in the parish church of Kensington on February 21, 1747; which was afterwards published, with the usual authoritative mandate prefixed, JUSSU SUPERIORUM. The preacher's text was taken from Hebrews x. 25.—EXHORTING ONE ANOTHER; and he principally treated of the nature of affection and exhortation, and their mutual dependance on each other. In a dedication to the newly consecrated bishop, our author professes, from a principle of gratitude,

tude, his intention only "to pay debts, as far as they may be paid, by owning them, and not to attempt any thing that looks like commendation and praise. I leave that" says he, "to LONGINUS and to CICERO." In the sermon he appears also to be in a strait respecting his friend, but, at the same time, ventures so far as sufficiently to excuse his advancing any farther. "Shall I proceed," says he, "to speak more particularly concerning the person now appointed to the episcopal function? Inclination draws that way, and words present themselves unsought, and it is a pleasure to utter them, when the heart and the tongue conspire together, and truth guides them both. But the censorious would pronounce it flattery, and the severe would call it injudicious gratitude. It is better to be silent than to be suspected of offering what is not fit for the one to give, and the other to receive."

The notice he takes of the patronage of learning may be supposed to look two ways at once; it may be considered as exhibiting a double proof of his observation in the contrasted

trasted situation of bishop Pearce and of the preacher, who was then and for many years after, very sparingly provided for. "One thing, only," says he, "give me leave to add, for I cannot decently stifle it, in favor of our own times, that learning,---learning, which has made a man pass for a magician, for a heretic, and for a fool, and has been often observed to be a symptom of poverty,---is no disqualification or impediment, but rather a credit and a recommendation. It has some friends and favourers even amongst the great, and it has no enemy except envy, which pilfers and purloins a small matter from an established character; a moderate tax upon superior abilities, and a loss which is scarcely felt.

"It would be an unpardonable omission," continues he, "in one who has had a liberal education, not to lay hold of this occasion, and proceed to say something in behalf of literature. He who cannot reward it, ought at least to recommend it to those who can, and exhort and admonish them that they would cherish and protect it, even for their

own sake. We are naturally disposed to seek and to value reputation ; reputation and praise are a recompense which our saviour himself with his own sacred mouth conferred upon a generous action. *Whereforever, says he, this gospel shall be preached in the whole world, there shall also this, that this woman hath done, be told for a memorial of her.* There is no surer way for men to obtain it, than by patronising letters, arts, and sciences; for these are always grateful, and both willing and able to transmit the names of their friends to the latest generations. They who are not to be moved, by these motives, may hope for reputation, but they will reap as they sow, and never be praised, except by hangers-on of their own stamp and capacity, or by dedicators, whose works usually die before them, and who certainly will have no interest with posterity."

ON the recommendation of archbishop Herring, and bishop Sherlock, Mr. Jortin was appointed, by the earl of Burlington, on the 26th of December 1749, preacher of the lecture founded by Mr. Boyle. An appointment

pointment, honourable from the nature of the foundation, and from the respectable characters of several of the clergy who had preceded him in the duties of it, and, we may also add, from the patronage of the noble trustee, and the recommendation of the two prelates, at whose instance, he had received it.

Upon this occasion, Mr. Jortin drew up a plan of his discourses, under these four heads;

I. Remarks on the being and perfections of God, and particularly, on his impartiality, and his goodness.

II. The nature, use, and intent of prophecy, together with an examination of some predictions in the old and in the new Testament.

III. Considerations on miracles in general, on the miracles of Christ and his apostles, and on the support which they give to the christian religion.

IV. The law of Moses and the jewish religion set in a proper light, and defended from some objections, ancient and modern.

The substance of his discourses upon the *second* and *third* head, is inserted, as he himself tells us,* in the three first volumes of his "Remarks on ecclesiastical history." And the reason of his adopting this, instead of the more ordinary mode of publication of such discourses, will be best understood from his own account of it.

"The noble and prudent donation of our christian philosopher," says he, "hath had suitable effects, and hath produced a printed collection of religious lectures, which, in the main, may be called learned and judicious, though they are not all of equal value. The subject is copious; but a succession of hands will at length exhaust the most copious theme, and unavoidably occasion a repetition of the same thoughts and arguments, somewhat diversified in method and style. This, and the present cool demand for printed sermons, may induce the lecturers to content themselves with preaching, and to abstain from publishing. But yet, if the fashion should obtain, there may be reason
to

* See Remarks on E. H. vol iii. p. 449.

to fear that, in process of time, Mr. Boyle's will have the same fate (though they deserve a better) with some other lectures, and become mere wall-lectures, and discourses calculated to exist for half an hour. Between the two methods of publishing all or none, there seems to be a third, by which the discourses being stripped of every thing popular, trite, and redundant, may be thrown into the more learned and the more contracted form of DISSERTATION. This is the method which the author hath attempted, and which he takes the liberty to mention: not pretending in the least to dictate, and to prescribe laws, or even to offer advice to his successors; but only to make an apology for his own conduct, and to inform the public, which hath a right to ask and to know, how he hath endeavoured to execute a trust of a public nature committed to his care."*

The mutual friendship between Mr. Warburton and Mr. Jortin continued after their connection at Lincoln's Inn chapel had ceased; insomuch, that the former announced, in the

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second

* See Remarks on E. H. vol. iii. p. 449. and 450.

second edition of his JULIAN, the speedy publication of his "learned friend Mr. Jortin's curious dissertations on ecclesiastical antiquity; composed, like his life, not in the spirit of controversy, nor, what is still worse, of party, but of truth and candor."*

It were almost needless to hint that there is more good temper in this short, but ingenuous testimony, than usually escaped from the pen of Mr. Warburton, save when he was employed in decorating certain subalterns who retained themselves under his banner. And indeed being supported, in the truth and justice of the observation from the matter of fact, this friendly testimony derived equal credit upon both parties. The circumstances of Mr. Warburton's *foreman* being a few years afterwards retained to attack a man whose life was known and acknowledged to be "truth and candor;" and to open hostilities in the way of controversy and indelicate irony, is one, among the many deplorable inconsistencies in the characters of some men, from whom

* See Warburton's "Julian," 2d edit. 1751. p. 316. note.

whom a more just and honourable behaviour, to say the least, might have been expected.

Mr. Warburton's favorable notification of the forwardness of the "Remarks on ecclesiastical history," was very soon followed by the publication of the first volume, early in the year 1751; and however sanguine may have been the expectations of the friends of Mr. Jortin, they were not disappointed.

The design of this work will be best expressed in our author's own words; for we may admit him to be the proper judge of his intention, reserving nevertheless to ourselves the right of using our own judgment upon the execution of the plan.

"What is here offered," says he, "to the public is not a regular treatise, but only a collection of detached remarks on ecclesiastical history and ancient writers, in which the order of the time is neither strictly observed, nor greatly neglected, and no anxious accuracy is bestowed upon the dates of years. This is a necessary premonition to the reader, who else would seek what he will not find."

"Yet

“ Yet was it designed, slight and imperfect as it is, for the service of TRUTH, by one who would be glad to attend and grace her triumphs; as her foldier, if he has had the honor to serve successfully under her banners; or as a captive tied to her chariot-wheels, if he has, though undesignedly, committed any offence against her.

“ The intention of this work is to produce such evidence as may support and confirm the truth of christianity, and shew that the providence of God has appeared in its establishment and in its preservation; to avoid peremptory decisions on some lately controverted questions, and to seek out a way between the extremes; not to pronounce those things false which may perhaps be true, nor those things probable which are ambiguous; and to try the experiment whether by this method a reader may not be gently led to grant all that is required of him, and rather more than less; to set before men some of the virtues, as well as failings, of the ancient christians, whence they may draw some practical inferences; to excite in their hearts a love for christianity,
that

that best gift of heaven to mankind, and a respect, though not a superstitious veneration, for those good men, who, if they could not dispute for it altogether so well as the present generation, yet, which is more, could die for it; to reject those trifles which persons of greater zeal than discernment would obtrude upon the world as golden reliques of primitive christianity; and to add several things of a miscellaneous and philological kind, which will serve, at least, to diversify the subject. Such is the intention of the work: may it atone for its defects."

But, it was not to be expected that any apology would screen a writer from the displeasure and resentment of his ecclesiastical superiors of a certain description, and in certain situations, who should observe that "as soon as christian societies began, debates began, and as soon as christianity was by law established, debates grew violent;"----who should expose the misconduct and ill consequences of councils, "which sometimes met so frequently, (as is observed,) that they might be called quarter sessions as well as councils,"---

councils ;"—who should reprobate all ideas of effecting unity by compulsion, and unfold the nature of that charity which is made the pretence for persecution ;—who should vindicate the freedom of the human understanding, and condemn the envious and poisonous shafts of theological enmity and hatred ;—who should declare the uncertainty of the popular meaning of the word " heresy ;" and who should tell the world of the more secret, but no less malignant, persecutions effected in silence.

The difficulties which attend the defence of those religious fortresses of human device, which claim connection with, and even make pretensions of being derived from the gospel, have been frequently felt and are very observable ; and the cause of revelation has greatly suffered from being committed to the care, not so much of inexpert engineers, as of able men incumbered and borne down by the heavy and unwieldy armour of civil establishments in religion.* Nevertheless, whatever member
of

*. " As the opposers of the gospel have frequently had recourse to arguments *ad hominem*, and have taken advantage

of the established church shall complain of the burden of his accoutrements, is presently considered as willingly admitting the adversary into the citadel; and though he shall have maintained the cause of our common christianity with equal honor and success in many a well fought battle against an host of enemies, is consigned to seek his reward in the consolation of his own mind; even so far is he from being promoted to the staff, that he is seldom suffered to retire from the service without a reprimand from a board of general officers.

“What is to be done,” says the prefacer, “with one who is, or who is accounted or whispered to be erroneous? Why, **DISTIN-**

GUENDUM

tage from modern systems, and from the writings of divines of this or that persuasion; so the defenders of revelation have often found themselves under a necessity of reducing things to the venerable christianity of the new Testament, and of adventuring no farther; and of declining the rest as not essential to the cause, and to the controversy.” Preface. p. xxxv and xxxvi. The obstinacy and violence of certain theologians are elsewhere well marked; “the hoary heads of some persons,” says he, “are like mount *Ætna*, where the snow and fire dwell together in strict friendship.” “Remarks on E. H.” vol. i. p. 351.

GUENDUM EST: you must not shed his blood, nor enrich yourself with his spoils; but you may contrive other ways to bring him to a right mind, or to beggary: ways, which resemble the method of Italian assassins, to beat a man with fatchells of sand: no blood is shed, and no bones are broken, but the patient dies by the operation."

The tribute which our author pays to the two universities, is the grateful acknowledgment of one who drank deep at the fountain head; and as there are thousands who will join in the prayer, and feel the flame and ardor of younger days rekindle in their hearts and memories, we may be excused in reciting it. "Happy is it, that the pious and judicious liberality of our ancestors founded and endowed those two noble seminaries, which have been our best security against ignorance, superstition, and infidelity.

ESTOTE PERPETUÆ!

An agreeable remembrance of former days presents itself,

nec me meminisse pigebit alumnæ,
Dum memor ipse mei, dum spiritus hos regit artus.

But

“ But let us do justice to the theological merits and useful labours of persons of another denomination in this country, of whom *Quæ tales sunt, utinam essent nostri.*”

Here, alas ! the ground is changed between our author, and the writer of the present page, who, if he may be permitted to speak for himself and some of his friends, (who are unshaken by the blowing of adverse winds, and untainted with the infectious air of injustice and intolerance,) have seceded from the profession of the system of religion established in this country, with sentiments of general respect for the persons of those whom they have left behind them, and with affectionate esteem for many honoured characters among them.—But, without the idle desire of accumulating numbers of proselytes, who are not thoroughly convinced of the truth of their principles and the rectitude of such a conduct in men so persuaded, they may be allowed to lament, when they look around them, that “ political palsy in the head, which nods and assents to all ;” and, in a warm but temperate zeal for their cause, which they consider

consider as the cause of God, and in the fervor of affectionate dispositions towards those with whom they were connected by education,—to exclaim in their turn, *Qui tales sunt, utinam essent nostri.*

But, while we agree in giving praise to “the pious and judicious liberality of our ancestors” in their foundation of our universities, our veneration for antiquity will no more oblige us to commend the darkness which overspread the period of their institution, in preference to the advanced state of knowledge in which they are presented to us; than our reverence for truth will suffer us to rejoice in the very limited system of education they continue to adopt. We are, in common with many others, grieved at the devastations which are reported to be made among our youth by the luxury and dissipation of the age; nor should we stand alone, if we were here to express our deep concern at the tenacious withholding and suppression of all rational acquaintance with the christian scriptures, by adhering to the obsolete and exploded systems of human device, with a pertinacity unbecoming

coming institutions founded for the acquisition and improvement of knowledge and learning, which are obviously progressive as well in all bodies of men, as in individuals.*

In

* In the St. James's Chronicle of Nov. 5, 1785, appeared an advertisement, dated from Cambridge the first of that month, and which, for any thing I know to the contrary, may be repeated annually. It announced that "the late Mr. Norris having left twelve pounds a year for a medal and some books, as a premium for the best prose english essay on subjects appointed agreeably to the directions contained in his will." The Norrissian professor gave notice, that the subject for that year was one of those mentioned by Mr. Norris, viz. *The goodness of God as manifested in the mission of Jesus Christ*. The advertisement stated also the previous conditions to be observed, and the subsequent publication of the essay to which the prize should be adjudged: it next presented us with a caution, not very unlike the common one, when an honest man has lost, or been robbed of, a bank note,—that "payment is stopped at the bank." But to be serious; the caution to the candidates contained a restriction which would more than have justified the curators of the honor of the university in refusing to accept the legacy. The words were;—"Any opinion advanced in the essay of a candidate for this prize, contrary (in the estimation of the appointed judges, viz. the master of Trinity, the provost of King's and the master of Caius colleges,)

In agreement, however, with the general declaration of our author that he "enters into no particulars," it may be as well, in part, to follow his example for the present: and yet he so frequently hints at things and persons, with such discriminating traits of character, that there is no mistaking the quarter to which his eye is directed. In these cases, a very ordinary share of curiosity will excite a desire to be introduced to the persons with whom

colleges,) to the articles of the church of England with respect to our saviour's divinity, and the personality of the holy spirit, is to disqualify such candidate." These conditions appear disgraceful, upon the very face of them, to the parties who have accepted the trust and adjudication of the prize upon terms, which preclude all further light and information being thrown upon established opinions, and will, in the end, prove fatal to the bequest. It may not be long before the legacy may lapse for want of a properly qualified candidate. For, at this instant, few can present themselves, but in a somewhat questionable shape. But it may be said, that the will only concerns itself with the essay, not with the essayist. This is very true, but from the cast of the restriction, it will most probably introduce a little shuffling, or a little stifling. It had been more like workmen to have followed the example of a provincial synod in France in 1612, which compelled all who should

whom our author was in company, and whose character he so well knew: and although they shall not, all of them, acquit themselves with equal approbation, it only remains for us to behave to them, as their respective deserts shall merit at our hands.

It must now suffice to recommend to every reader, an attentive perusal of the preface before us; the christian, the protestant, and the philosopher will find in it much to com-

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mend,

go into orders to take an oath, not only of approbation "of all that was contained in the confession of faith of the reformed churches of that nation," but of promise "to persevere therein to their life's end, and never to believe or teach any thing not conformable to it." A similar oath was again enjoined in the same kingdom, 1620. (See preface to Remarks on E. H. p. xvii. and xviii.) I was going to recommend the trial of some corresponding measure, but the effect of such expedients has not been the preservation of the belief of the catholic faith, but the spread of infidelity; and France promises to set us a better example of reformation. In the mean time, the parties intrusted with the execution of the will of Mr. Norris, would do well to consider the very humiliating appearance they make in their advertisement, and rescue the reputation of the university of Cambridge, by such means as they shall think most honorable to so distinguished a seminary of learning and science.

mend, little to correct, and nothing to blame. If the bigot should bestow his attention upon the same pages, and be led, by any thing he shall find there, to take to himself the shame and confusion that belong to him, he will have reason to be thankful, and ought to acknowledge his obligation. Nevertheless, great was the cry raised against this preface by churchmen of a certain complexion, at the time of its first publication ; and it was meditated by some of them to close the storm with the harrahs and wreck of a legal prosecution. And I have been very credibly informed that the failure of this *pious* design, was finally owing to a want of matter in the offensive pages, whereon to fasten the vulture's talons, not to any disposition in the clamorous and enraged complainants to come to terms of friendly accommodation. The better spirit of the times did not, however, suffer Mr. Jortin to fall a victim to the untempered fury of those "foxes which lodged safely at the root of the tree, or of those birds of ill omen which screamed in its branches." But his more fortunate escape does not invalidate an
 observation

observation of his own, that "the groundless surmises of a booby, or of a bigot, have hurt many a man of sense, and qualified him to be registered in an appendix to *PIERIUS DE INFELICITATE LITERATORUM*."

If there be a question undecided concerning this justly celebrated preface, it is, whether the pleasure it has given to liberal minded christians of various denominations, or the better temper which zealots have insensibly derived from reading it, be the greatest.

But it is now time to proceed to give some account of the first volume of the "Remarks on ecclesiastical history," to which this memorable preface is prefixed.

The Remarks are generally professed by the author to be "intended, in some measure, as a supplement to his Discourses on the truth of the christian religion." They are accordingly opened (1) with some considerations on the time when christianity made its appearance,* particularly with respect to such things "as had a tendency to wean the pagans by slow degrees from their attachment to idolatry,

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and

* See before p. 43.

and to facilitate the worship of the one God and father of all,† who by his son, or his word, reconciled to himself and instructed mankind, and by his spirit assisted virtuous minds in their progress to wisdom and happiness, as a religion more simple, and noble, and

† Notwithstanding Mr. professor White's distaste towards the unitarians of his own country, and his reproachfully uniting them with mahometans, in his Bampton lectures, (for which he has been repeatedly reprov'd, and, without any apparent effect, challenged to a further discussion of the subject,*) he has not scrupled, in another publication to connect himself with the mahometans, so far as he conceives them to be right, and very justly considers their not being involved in the darkness of idolatry, but believing in ONE GOD, as the most probable means of facilitating their conversion to christianity. See his Sermon preached before the university of Oxford July 4, 1784. on the duty of attempting the propagation of the gospel among our mahometan and gentoo subjects in India. p. 32. and 33. or the last

* [See preface to an "Examination of Robinson's Plea for the divinity of Christ." Toulmin's second appendix to his "Dissertation on the internal evidences and excellence of christianity;" and by Dr. Priestley in his animadversions on some passages in Mr. White's Sermons, added to his sermon "on the importance and extent of free inquiry in matters of religion;" preached Nov. 5. 1785.]

and philosophical, and reasonable, than paganism."

He has (11.) some short general observations on the demoniacs, and is inclined to consider the distemper with which the unhappy person

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was

last edit. of his Bampton lecture sermons, to which it is added, p. 496. "For the propagation of the gospel in the East many inducements and advantages are held out to us, which the savage condition of the indians of America does not afford. The mahometans are an immense body of men, natives of populous and mighty empires, greatly exceeding in population the kingdoms of christendom, and almost entirely occupying one quarter of the habitable globe. They are the subjects of regulated states; they are the observers of established laws; civilized by the intercourse of agriculture and commerce, and polished by the use of letters and of arts. They are neither involved in the impiety of atheism, nor the darkness of idolatry; and their religion, false as it is, has many articles of belief in common with our own: which will facilitate our labours in diffusing the true faith, and dispose them to receive it. They believe in ONE GOD, creator and lord of all; to whom they attribute infinite power, justice, and mercy. They hold the immortality of the soul; and expect a future judgment, a heaven and a hell; they acknowledge an universal deluge; they honour the patriarch Abraham as the first author of their religion; they acknowledge Moses and Christ to have been great prophets, and allow the pentateuch and the gospel to be sacred books."

was afflicted, as supernatural, and to account for the operation of evil spirits. The subjects, however, are so slightly treated here, that his own opinion is barely to be discovered; and it would be to extend the comment beyond the text, to say more than to mention them. The examination of the first miracle after the ascension of Christ, namely, the gift of tongues, is more elaborate and more satisfactory.

The prophecy concerning the destruction of Jerusalem is next examined at large, (III.) and is accompanied by some remarks on this part of the subject communicated to him by Dr. Zachary Pearce, then bishop of Bangor, in explanation of some parts of the twenty-fourth chapter of Matthew; these are now to be found in the notes of that learned prelate's "Commentary on the four evangelists," though somewhat varied and a good deal dispersed. It is very justly observed by bishop Watson that Mr. Jortin "has well proved, not only that the gospels, in which the predictions of Christ relative to the destruction of Jerusalem are delivered, were written before
that

that event, but that the predictions themselves could not have been inserted into the gospels, as interpolations after the event; the reader will not esteem this to have been an unnecessary labor," adds he, " who recollects the confidence with which Voltaire, with a view probably of evading the force of the argument in question, declares, that the gospels were written after Jerusalem was destroyed."*

Mr. Jortin goes on (iv.) to consider the subject of prophecy in general, and observes that " the uses of prophecy, besides gradually opening and unfolding the things relating to the messias, and the blessings which by him should be conferred upon mankind, are many, and great, and manifest. (1.) It served, says he, to secure the belief of a God and of a providence. (2) It was intended to give men the profoundest veneration for that amazing knowledge from which nothing was concealed, not even the future actions of creatures, and the things which as yet were not. How could a man hope to hide any counsel, any design,

* See bishop Watson's " Collection of tracts," vol. v. p. iv. of the account of the contents.

design, or thought from such a being? (3.) It contributed to keep up devotion and true religion, the religion of the heart, which consists partly in entertaining just and honourable notions of God and of his perfections, and which is a more rational and a more acceptable service than rites and ceremonies. (4.) It excited men to rely upon God, and to love him, who condescended to hold this mutual intercourse with his creatures, and to permit them to consult him, as one friend asks advice of another. (5.) It was intended to keep the people to whom God revealed himself, from idolatry, a sin to which the jews would be inclined, both from the disposition to it which they had acquired in Ægypt, and from the contagion of bad example."

But he also makes it a subject of inquiry, and owns it to be " a question of importance, whether there has ever been in the pagan world such a thing as *divination*, or the fore-knowledge of things. He considers the strongest argument against it to be contained in Isaiah, (xli. and xlviii.) where almighty God, foretelling many great events, particularly

particularly the raising up of Cyrus to destroy the Babylonian monarchy, and to deliver the jews from captivity, declares that he alone can discover such things, and appeals to these predictions, as to proofs of his divinity, and evident arguments that there is no God besides him."

"Hence," says Mt. Jortin, "it has been concluded that there never was such a thing as fore-knowledge in the pagan world; a conclusion too large and absolute to be inferred from the premises." "And so far he is certainly right," observes Mr. Taylor, "for who can say that God never foretold any thing to the pagans? We know, he has. But the question is not, whether he hath revealed any thing to them; but whether they had any arts of divination or natural prognostics, that could inform them of future things. That this is the true state of the question, appears from Cicero himself. And to this the words of Isaiah are a full and sufficient answer. And accordingly we find; that neither Joseph, nor Daniel pretended

tended to interpret the dreams of Pharoah or Nebuchadnezzar, by any such arts."*

When our author remarks that Cicero has treated of the subject of divination in two books: in the first alledging all that can be said for it; and in the second arguing against it; he adds "whosoever will examine his reasons on both sides, may see, I think, that he has not overset all the proofs which he has offered for it." On the other hand, Mr. Taylor "allows that Cicero has not overset all the proofs he has brought in favor of divination; but insists that the reason was, because they were many of them top-heavy, and overset themselves; and that Cicero did not think them worthy of a particular answer."†

Our author next (v.) takes up "the prophecies relating to our saviour, and to christianity;" acknowledging that "some of them have a mixture of obscurity, and that the interpretations which have been given of them are various, but that this ought to be

* See "Confusion worse confounded." 8vo. 1772. p. 60.

† Ibid. p. 62.

be matter, neither of wonder, nor of offence, because in the nature of things, it cannot be otherwise."

The difficulties which attend the interpretation of these prophecies, he has chosen to represent in the words of bishop Chandler, Vitringa, and Le Clerc, as being very competent judges : but that Jesus was the messias foretold by the prophets, he says, appears from the following considerations. " The prophets speak of a new and second covenant, which God would make with his people. They mention, not once or twice, but very often, the conversion of the gentiles from superstition and idolatry to the worship of the true God ; they speak of four successive empires, the last of which was the Roman empire, and, under this last empire, they say that a new and everlasting kingdom should be established by one, to whom God should give absolute power and dominion. A great person was to come, who should be Emmanuel, or God with us, the son of God, and the son of man, of the seed of Abraham, of Isaac, and of David ; born of a virgin,

a virgin, [young woman;*] poor and obscure, and yet one whom David calls his lord; the lord to whom the temple belonged, the mighty god, [lord,†] a great king, an everlasting priest, though not of the tribe of Levi; born at Bethlehem, a prophet like unto Moses, but greater than Moses; a prophet who should preach to the poor and meek, and proclaim liberty to the captives, and comfort to the mourners, and heal the broken hearted; who should proclaim his glory first and principally in the land of Zebulon and Naphthali, in Galilee of the gentiles; who should have a forerunner in the spirit of Elias, crying in the wilderness, prepare ye the way of the lord; who should instruct in a mild and peaceable manner, without wrath and contention, before the destruction of the temple, in which temple he should be seen and heard; who should enter into Jerusalem meek and humble, and riding on an ass; who should work miracles

* See Dodson's, "New Translation of Isaiah." 8vo. 1790. chap. vii. 14. and notes.

† Ibid. chap. ix. 5. and notes.

miracles more than Moses and all the prophets, and miracles of the merciful and beneficent kind, open the eyes of the blind, and the ears of the deaf, and make the dumb to praise God, and the lame to leap like an hart; who, notwithstanding all his power and goodness, should be rejected by the greater part of the nation, to whom he should be a stumbling block; who should be despised and afflicted, a man of sorrow, and cut off from the land of the living; who should have enemies numerous, powerful, crafty, and wicked; who should be accused by false witnesses, betrayed by an intimate and particular friend, sold for thirty pieces of silver, and the money given for a potter's field, when it had been flung away by the traitor, who should not live long after his crime, and whose office should be filled up by another; that his enemies should use him contumeliously, buffet him, and spit upon him, whilst he should be led like a lamb to the slaughter, not opening his mouth, and uttering nothing, except intercessions for the transgressors; that his enemies should
strip

strip him of his raiment, divide it amongst themselves, and cast lots upon it, surround him, pierce his hands and his feet, mock him, and shake their heads at him, give him gall to eat, and vinegar to drink; that he should be reduced to so weak and languishing a condition that his bones might all be counted, his heart should melt within him, and his tongue cleave to the roof of his mouth; that he should be brought to the dust of death, that he should be pierced, and yet not one of his bones be broken, that he should be laid in the sepulchre of a rich and honorable man, none of his enemies hindering it; that he should rise again before he had seen corruption, and subdue his enemies, and ascend into heaven, and sit at God's right hand, and be crowned with honor and glory, and see his seed and prosper; and justify many, and be adored [reverenced] by kings and princes; that then Jerusalem should be made desolate, and the jews dispersed in all lands, and the gentiles should be converted, and flow into the church. These things," concludes he,

"were

" were said concerning some person; and they are all applicable to Christ.

" The only possible objection," says he, " which can be made to these predictions, is, that perhaps they were written after the event;" but this is removed by considering the prophecies of Ezekiel concerning Ægypt,* Babylon,† and Tyre:‡ concerning Ishmael§ and Esau. ||

But he further remarks that " there are four sorts of passages in the old Testament which have been applied to Christ. (i.) Accommodations, or such passages of the old Testament, as are adapted by the writers of the new to something that happened in their time, because of some correspondence and similitude. (ii) Direct prophecies which relate to Christ and the gospel, and to them alone, and which cannot be taken in any other sense. (iii) A type, which is a rough draught

* Ezek. xxix. 15.

† Jer. l. 39. li. 26, 37, 64. Isai. xlii. 19.

‡ Ezek. xxvi. 14--21. xxvii, 36--xxviii, 19.

§ Gen. xvi. 11 and 12.

|| Gen xxvii. 40.

draught, a less accurate pattern or model, from which a more perfect image or work is made. Types, or typical prophecies, are things which happened and were done in ancient time, and are recorded in the old Testament, and which are found afterwards to describe or represent something which be- fel our lord, and which relates to him and to his gospel. (iv) There are prophecies of double senses, which admit no more than two senses, which are nearly of the same kind with typical prophecies, and many of which might perhaps be cleared up by observing that the prophet meant one thing, and the spirit of God, who spake by him, meant another thing; for the holy spirit so over-ruled the prophets as to make them use words which strictly and rigidly interpreted could not mean what themselves intended."*

And

* Bishop Watson bears honorable testimony to this part of our author's work; "Dr. Jortin," says he, "not to mention some learned authors who are still alive, and who have written very ably on prophecy, has given us some very judicious observations, both concerning prophecy in general, and concerning a double sense of some prophecies, in the first volume of his "Remarks on ecclesiastical history." See his "Collection of tracts," vol. iv. p. vii. of the table of contents.

And certain examples are given of such passages as may be classed under these respective distinctions.

A comparison is also drawn out into considerable length between Moses and Christ, containing thirty nine particular instances, wherein their resemblance to each other is equally distinguishable and remarkable. In the close of this parallel, he draws his inference by very pertinently asking; "Is this similitude and correspondence in so many things between Moses and Christ the effect of mere chance? Let us search all the records of universal history, and see if we can find a man who was so like to Moses as Christ was, and so like to Christ as Moses was. If we cannot find such an one, then have we found him of whom Moses in the law, and the prophets did write, Jesus of Nazareth, the son of God."

The remaining part of the volume contains remarks on the apostolical constitutions and canons, the Sibylline oracles, and some passages from ancient poets cited by the fathers; the works of Barnabas, Clemens

Romanus, and Hermas; the Recognitions and the homilies of Clemens, the epistle to Diogenetus, and the epistles of Ignatius.

Much philological learning, and many interesting remarks deserving of distinction, are interspersed throughout the volume, but it is no part of the design of the present work to give them in detail.

It may be observed, however, that the apostolical constitutions "repeat it over and over, lest christians should forget it, says our author, that a bishop is a god, a god upon earth, and a king, and infinitely superior to a king, and ruling over rulers and kings. They command christians to give him tribute as to a king, and to reverence him as a god, and to pay him tithes and first fruits, according, say they, to God's command; and they strictly forbid christians to make any inquiry, and to take any notice, whether he disposes of these revenues well or ill."

"Here is strange language indeed," says the remarker, "even far beyond all *emphases* and *bolinesses*." And we may ask, might not this reflection have been extended

to

to these distinctions bestowed on ecclesiastics on this side of the channel, of "*my lord*," and "*your grace*?" This would have been done with the greater propriety by Mr. Jortin, because he is said to have had a dislike to the use of these forms of speech, and, as I am well informed, with singular address, avoided the frequent use of them, when he was in company with any of the bishops. In this, although the rules of propriety and expedience would have borne him out, he was commendable, as an individual in giving up a matter so perfectly insignificant in itself, to common custom and courtesy, and indeed to the present laws of this country.*

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* There is another circumstance, which may be considered as a just cause of offence, rather than a matter of mere curiosity, and, being no way connected with the lay barony appendant to a bishopric in this country, is the less excusable. All the ancient ecclesiastical instruments, even down to so late a period as 1733, (when all public forms and proceedings were directed by law to be written in english,) we find invariably addressed to the archbishops or bishops, in these words, "*reverendissimo, (or, reverendo admodum) patri in CHRISTO.*" And in one instrument in english, dated 1559, which I lately observed, archbishop

Matthew

The same "apostolical constitutions make the validity of baptism to depend upon a certain form of invocation, and they seem to make it depend also upon the piety of the priest, which, says Mr. Jortin, is a hard case."

These Matthew Parker is stiled "the most reverend father in CHRIST." (See Nichols's Bib. Top. Brit. No. xxvii, appendix.) It should, therefore, seem a matter of more importance than mere curiosity, to inquire how and when the present accustomed episcopal appellation of "father in God" first obtained. The tenure by which this title is held is certainly very suspicious and questionable from the irregularity of its decent, and from the apparent falsification of the ancient records in which it is to be found. The indecorum of this assumption is the more notorious, when it is observed, that whenever the names of other persons occur in such, or similar, instruments issuing from the bishop, the address adopted is the following—"dilecto nobis in CHRISTO;" which is uniformly rendered by the correspondent english expression,—“to our beloved in CHRIST.”

Surely this diversity of language favours a little of ecclesiastical legerdemain; for CHRISTUS is made to signify "God," when connected with the *bishop*; and "Christ," when connected with the *clerk*. We may indeed be told that they mean the same person; but it may be asked in return, why therefore not use the same name? And satisfaction will still be wanting,—how, and when, the novel translation was obtruded upon the country?

These are two internal evidences, which, among many others, declare against their being genuine, and determine them to be an infamous imposture.

Jortin says of Tillemont, that "he commonly proceeds upon a supposition that they who have obtained the honor of *ecclesiastical knighthood*, and are called *saints*, are all excellent men and entirely to be trusted, and that all they who were, or were accounted *heterodox*, are to be little regarded, and held in bad esteem."

There is, however, a modern Tillemont, in lawn sleeves, who would not give credit to the most ample testimony in behalf of the very excellent moral character of a distinguished person, because he either was, or was accounted, *heterodox*. Such bigotry can only find room to think well of such ecclesiastical knights as Saint Nicholas, of whom the legend reports, that "when an infant hanging on his mother's breast, he fasted on Wednesdays and Fridays, and could not be urged to suck more than once a day:"

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* See Fuller's Dedication of the sixth book of his "Church history." p. 260.

or to conceive a favorable opinion of such men only as accounted it an heinous crime to ease nature on the sabbath day.* But, to use a beautiful remark of our author, which he indeed applies only to Tillemont, but which others may give to those whom it may concern,—“some good men, as they grow older, grow more uncharitable in their religious notions. The apophthegm of Horace is not always true,

Lenit albescens animos capillus.

The hoary heads of some persons are like mount *Ætna*, where the snow and the fire dwell together in strict friendship.”†

The appendix to this first volume of the “Remarks on ecclesiastical history,” is the work of Mr. Warburton, and so much more mischief does the ill-judging friendship of some men effect, than their resentments can accomplish, that Mr. Jortin has lost more credit by the admission of these few pages of Mr. Warburton’s, than if this imagined colossus had replied to every line of the remarks,

* See Remarks on E. H. vol. i. p. 267.

† ib. p. 351.

marks, or "whipped him at the cart's tail in a note to the *Divine legation*, the ordinary place of his literary executions: or pilloried him in the *Dunciad*, another engine, which, as legal proprietor, he very ingeniously and judiciously applied to the same purpose."

Mr. Jortin tells us that bishop Pearce and Mr. Warburton were willing to appear as his friends, and his coadjutors in this work, and prefixes a copy of latin verses, written more from the goodness of his heart, and in the spirit of poetry, than in the spirit of prophecy. "By some fatality," says an ingenious essayist, "he was duped, not only to accept of a postscript to the first volume of ecclesiastical remarks, exhibiting the visions of a welch prophet, with the commentaries of Warburton upon them, but to celebrate the new alliance with an—

Ibit et hoc nostri per secula foedus amoris."†

No particular notice was taken of this appendix, worth recording, except in the passage
just

* See bishop Lowth's Letter to bishop Warburton. p. 4.

† See "Collection of letters and essays in favour of public liberty." 12mo. 1774. vol. iii. p. 263.

just cited, until the year 1772, when the late learned Mr. Taylor published some very masterly remarks upon it, in a tract, entitled, "Confusion worse confounded; rout upon rout; or the bishop of G——r's commentary on Rice, or Arise Evans's Echo from heaven, examined and exposed. By Indignatio." That this examination and exposure should follow at so long a period from the time of the original publication is accounted for by Mr. Taylor's not having seen the appendix to which it refers before the preceding summer, and may be excused in the recollection that the *nullum tempus* bill is not extended to the church.*

It will be sufficient here to refer to this very valuable tract, in which many of the visions of Mr. Warburton, and those of Rice Evans are not only examined and refuted, but very justly exposed and ridiculed with that mixture of wit and learning, which so eminently

* When Mr. Jortin gave his "Letters on ancient music," to Mr. Avison, to be added to his "Essay on musical expression," he hoped that "the lovers of the art would shew favor to the *appendix* for the sake of the *Essay*." (See Letter &c. p. 40.) But, one sheet of Warburton's affected the reputation of a volume of Jortin's.

eminently distinguished some of that author's writings. The only misfortune to be regretted, is that Mr. Jortin committed the credit of his labors, for the compass of ten pages, to the keeping of Mr. Warburton, and by that means subjected himself to be treated as an accessory before the fact. The consequence has been, that being found in habits of friendship with suspicious company, upon whom Mr. Taylor thought proper to exercise some correction, Mr. Jortin comes in for a larger share of blows than was necessary to convince him, had he been living, of his ill-placed confidence in his friend Warburton. "I can't help painting to myself," says Mr. Taylor, "two of these minute philosophers in the same ridiculous attitude, in which Shakespear has described a tete-a-tete of the same kind—

I saw a smith upon his anvil, thus,

With open mouth swallowing a taylor's news.*

Thus far all was fair, as Mr. Taylor might not have been informed of Mr. Jortin's speedy penitence for the countenance he had given

* See "Confusion worse confounded," p. 53.

given to a contemptible commentary upon Evans's Echo from heaven.

But, when Mr. Taylor proceeds to lose sight of the Bankrupt partnership of Warburton and Evans, he is presently at fault. For the sake of impartial justice, I wish to cite the strongest passage in his pamphlet. "In short," says he, "the whole that is said about prophecy either in the appendix by the bishop, or in the book itself by Dr. Jortin, PACE TANTI VIRI DIXERIM, is so drawn; that after reading it, we find ourselves just as uncertain as at first. We have been curveting upon a manag'd horse, merely by way of amusement; which sets us down just where he took us up."* This judgment upon the "Remarks," aggravated rather than softened by the compliment to the author of them, seems to have escaped the examiner *ex abundantia*; but has been so abundantly counteracted by the general opinion of the learned, the liberal, and ingenuous, that I am persuaded it has left no material sting behind it.

Hitherto

* See "Confusion worse confounded," p. 60

Hitherto it should seem that Mr. Jortin had partaken of some of the ingredients which are too frequently found to constitute a scholar's wages, according to Erasmus, "short commons and little reputation, mixed with much envy and detraction."* He had many

* To these Erasmus adds, "weak eyes and ill-health." "Life of Erasmus." vol. i. p. 67. And when Jortin mentions Lactantius, as being by far the purest and politest writer of all the latin fathers, he forbears not to lament his poverty. "Lactantius, vir omnium suo tempore eruditissimus, sed adeo pauper, ut plerumque etiam necessariis indigerit." Hieronymus Chron. "I mention not this, adds he, as any thing extraordinary or wonderful; not as one of the miracles of the fourth century; for poverty is a disease which rages as much and as frequently in the republic of letters, as the plague in Constantinople. The motto of the republic was given to it by Terence; it is;

"Modo liceat vivere; est spes. Quæ? Nos esurituros satis."—Remarks on E. H. vol. ii. p. 228 and 229.

The following observations, so apposite to those of Erasmus and Jortin, I shall extract from the second edition of Dr. Knox's Essays; I was sorry not to be able to find them in the later editions of so entertaining a miscellany. The *sixth* edition ends with Jortin's account of his situation being the effect not of his erudition, but the love of it; the *second* edition of the Essays, went on thus,

many friends who knew how to value his learning, but none of them had hitherto successfully sought to reward it. Certain jealousies were entertained of his liberal and catholic principles, though it was very generally acknowledged that his writings would be read and admired as long as any pittances of good sense, solid erudition, and exalted liberality of mind should remain upon english ground. To take off, as much as might be, any reproach to his patron, the "Discourses on the truth of the christian religion"

thus,—“ While persons of inferior attainments were made bishops, a man who had been uncommonly eminent in the service of learning and religion, was left to pine in the shade of obscurity. Many who were thought to have little more than the shadow of piety and learning, have had the substantial reward of them, if secular advantages could bestow it. Jortin was acknowledged to possess true virtue and real knowledge, but was left to receive his recompence in the suggestions of a good conscience, and the applause of posterity.”—“ The writer of this eulogium, as it has been called,” adds he in a note, “ is not conscious of exaggeration. He owns, however, that he entertained a favorable pre-possession concerning this liberal and laborious scholar at a very early age. When a school-boy he had the honor

gion" were made the ostensible motive for presenting him with the preferment designed for him. "The dangerous preface was then in its infancy," as a certain writer expresses himself, "and the outcry against it had not reached the ulterior banks of the Thames. It has, however, been said, that that the patron never heard the last of his injudicious munificence to a man, who had affronted, (as certain druids are wont to say.)

to be several times in his company, and always looked up to him with a degree of veneration natural to a young mind strongly attached to letters. He is happy to find that the unprejudiced coincide with him in his maturer judgment."

How these reflections and this testimony came to be omitted in the later editions of *Essays*, it is not for the present writer to say, while the author is able to speak for himself. And what increases the difficulty, is, that part of the preceding extract which begins with "While persons of inferior attainments" &c. was in the *first* edition written as follows; "While blockheads were made bishops, a man who had been uncommonly eminent in the service of learning and religion was left to pine in the shade of obscurity. SECKER has been thought by many to have had only the shadow of piety and learning, but he had the substantial reward of it." See *Gent. Mag.* for Dec. 1777. vol. XLVII. P. 594.

say,) the establishment that maintained him."*

Be this, however, as it may, in the month of May 1751, archbishop Herring gave Mr. Jortin, unsolicited, the rectory of St. Dunstan in the east, London, worth two hundred pounds a year; "a favor valuable in itself, but made doubly so by the giver, by the manner, by being conferred upon one," as himself says, "who had received few obligations of this kind, and by settling him amongst those whom he had great reason to love and to esteem."†

Nothing could more enhance the obligation, than the public and handsome manner in which it was conferred. The account which is given of the interview between the archbishop and Mr. Jortin is, I believe, authentic, and has in it some circumstances which shew the liberal and amiable character of the prelate, and characterize the simple manners

* See "Collection of Letters and Essays." vol. iii. p. 262.

† See dedication to the second vol. of Remarks on E. H. p. iv.

manners of the clerk. Mr. Jortin dined at the feast of the sons of the clergy, where archbishop Herring was present, and on being told that the archbishop was desirous of renewing his acquaintance with him, he prepared for going to the upper end of the room, by looking for his hat, among a great number which lay together in a confused manner, but being told by his friends that his hat was by no means necessary, he proceeded to the prelate without it. The archbishop complimented him on his talents and learning, and closed the conversation, by giving him, in the presence of the clergy, the rectory of St. Dunstan in the east. Mr. Jortin then returned to his seat, telling his friends, "I have lost my hat, but I have got a living."*

In August this year, Mr. Jortin paid a visit to his friends at Cambridge, where he had not been since the time of his quitting the university;† but it is most probable

* See "Gentleman's Magazine" for 1773. p. 438. and Nichols's "Anecdotes of Bowyer," p. 260. note *

† See "Anecdotes of Bowyer," p. 260. note *

bable that this journey, in the autumn of 1751, was principally intended as a visit to the libraries in the university; and the more so, as he was at that time much occupied in preparing the second volume of the "Remarks" for the press, and which was published the following spring.

CHAPTER IV.

Publishes the second volume of his "Remarks on ecclesiastical history;" also short "Miscellaneous remarks on the sermons of archbishop Tillotson;" and "a letter on the music of the ancients;" publishes the third volume of his "Remarks on ecclesiastical history." 1752--1754.

Mr. Jortin had the continuation of his "Remarks on ecclesiastical history" in so great forwardness for the press that he published the second volume in the spring 1752. And having been so lately patronized by archbishop Herring, he introduced it with a dedication to that worthy and benevolent prelate in language not indeed of "modern politeness, but of ancient simplicity."

The resentment which he had incurred from the orthodox, by the catholic spirit which he had shewn in his former volume, though then fresh in his mind, and still working to his further prejudice, he did not wish to dwell upon, but rather to look on

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the favorable side of the contingent events of human life. In this view, I apprehend, he observes, in his dedication, that "the discourtesies which we experience, are things too common and too insignificant to deserve a place in our memory, or in our writings; it is best, says he, to bury them in eternal oblivion, and in their room to substitute the good offices of our friends, which ought to be remembered and recorded with pleasure."

In excuse for his omitting to make a laboured display of the good qualities of his benefactor, or, as is too often the case, to ascribe to him the possession of those attainments which did not belong to him, he concludes by telling us, in true classic purity of sentiment, that it was a custom among the ancients, "NOT TO SACRIFICE TO HEROES, TILL AFTER SUN-SET." And that this was not merely a happy thought, founded in fact, and applied in compliment, we may have the best proof by turning to what he says of the same great man, after his decease, and when his dignities and patronage were in the

the possession of a successor who was of a quite contrary spirit.*

The design of the whole of this work, agreeably to a former intimation, was "to defend and recommend christianity which was then, and continues to be daily assaulted and insulted."

The controversy concerning the duration of the miraculous powers in the christian church, had been, about this time, agitated afresh between Dr. Middleton and his adversaries: Mr. Jortin, therefore, in bringing

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forward

* After citing an honorable testimony of Erasmus to the memory of archbishop Warham, (Life of Erasmus vol. 1. p. 42.) he proceeds,—"it is with a melancholy kind of pleasure that I transcribe these passages, and shall in other parts of this work insert other testimonies to the honor of the archbishop; whilst in the character of this amiable prelate, drawn by so masterly an hand, I contemplate that of my late patron, (Thomas Herring, archbishop of Canterbury,) who, besides the good qualities in which he resembled Warham, had piety without superstition, and moderation without meaness, an open and a liberal way of thinking, and a constant attachment to the cause of sober and rational liberty both civil and religious. Thus he lived and died, and few men ever passed through this malevolent world, better beloved, and less censured, than he.

He

forward the view he had been led to take of
 “ ecclesiastical miracles after the days of the
 apostles, and the authority upon which they
 depended”, was engaging the attention of the
 public upon a subject, concerning which they
 had received much recent information.

Mr. Jortin was disposed to reserve to
 himself some latitude in the credit he should
 give to the miracles, said to be wrought after
 the age of the apostles; and observes that
 Le Clerc had been retained in the same opi-
 nion by the writings of Cudworth and Grew.
 He is, however, very free to state the sum of
 the

“ He told me once, with an obliging condescension,
 which I can never forget, that he would be to me what
 Warham was to Erasmus; and what he promised, he per-
 formed: only less fortunate in the choice of his humble
 friend, who could not be to him, what Erasmus was to
 Warham. But if these pages should live, protected by the
 subject which they treat, and the materials of which they
 are composed, they may perhaps assist in doing justice to
 his memory.

His mihi dilectum nomen, manesque verendos,
 His saltem accumulem donis, et fungar amico
 Munere! non totus, raptus licet, optime Præsul,
 Eriperis: redit os placidum, moresque benigni,
 Et venit ante oculos, et pectore vivit imago.

the arguments against the credibility of the post-apostolic miracles in their just force, as well as the answers to them. Nor is he backward to announce where he would draw the line for himself; "It may not be amiss," says he, "to declare, once for all, that I would not engage for the truth of any of them, after A. D. 107, and that I desire to be ranked, as to this point, not amongst the deniers and rejectors, but among the doubters."

The testimony he bears to the memory of Middleton does him honor,* and the more so, as to be a *doubter* of his infidelity, was, at the time when Jortin wrote, an high offence to the partizans of orthodoxy. But the true christian spirit in which he declares the just criterion of our several judgments

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upon

* "To these authors, (says he, meaning Van Dale and Moyle,) will it be permitted to add Middleton? He declared himself more than once in favor of revelation. Let us therefore err, if it be an error, on the side which is favorable to him and to his memory, and join him to these ingenious and learned men." Remarks on E. H. vol. ii. p. 64.

upon this question, deserves to be particularly noticed, as the same criterion ought to be applied to every subject, which can be brought into debate among christians, and to be adopted with that truly meek and catholic temper in which the observation is made. "If it be asked, says he, when miraculous powers ceased in the church, the proper answer seems to be, that these miracles cease to us, when we cease to find satisfactory evidence for them."

The miracles recorded in the new Testament, it is observed, are recommended to our belief from a variety and chain of circumstances, reasons, and evidences; and these are judiciously recapitulated in twenty different arguments. At the close of them, he further remarks, that "the miracles of Christ were prophecies at the same time; they were such miracles as in a particular manner suited his character, they were significant emblems of his designs, and figures aptly representing the benefits to be conferred by him upon mankind, and they had in them, if we may so speak, a spiritual sense.

sense. So much may be urged in behalf of this interpretation of them, as shall probably secure it from being ranked among those *fantastical expositions* which are generally slighted by wise men; for many *cabbalistic notions* have made their appearance in this, as well as in other centuries and countries, which are even beneath censure or mention, and *neither fit for the land, nor yet for the dung-bill.*"

The miracles of Christ were of a beneficent nature, and some of them, together with others wrought by St. Paul and his fellow apostles, are cited and briefly explained. Though it is admitted to be "most probable that the miracles of the apostles could not be performed by them at their own discretion, but only when they had an impulse from the holy ghost, who alone knew the proper times and the just occasions."

As the vindication of the truth of the christian religion, freed from its corruptions, is the great object of our author, we shall not be thought tedious in reciting his brief
state

state of the main evidences by which it is supported.

1. "Christ was foretold," says he, "by the prophets. Of the things predicted concerning him, some were miraculous, some improbable, some seemingly irreconcilable, and all of them beyond the reach of human conjecture, and yet in him they all centered, and were united and reconciled.

"To this must be added the amazing harmony, and analogy, and correspondence between the old and new Testament, not only in the direct prophecies, but in the types, rites, ceremonies, and events contained in the former, and fulfilled in a sublimer sense in the latter, which upon the whole could never be the effect of blind chance.

"The old and new Testament confirm each other. The prophetic parts of the former support the gospel, and the miracles and prophecies and success of Christ and his apostles support the old Testament.

2. "Christ knew the hearts of men, as he shewed upon all occasions; a knowledge which almighty God represents in scripture.

as so peculiar to himself, that he cannot be supposed to suffer those to partake of it, who are not sent by him.

3. " He was a prophet: he foretold not only things remote and lying beyond human sagacity, but things improbable and miraculous, which have been accomplished.

4. " He wrought miracles numerous and various, worthy of himself, and beneficial to men; and many of these miracles were also prophecies at the same time, and indications of future events; and so were most of his parables.

5. " He never erred or failed in any point, as teacher, prophet, messias, or worker of miracles. All his promises were accomplished, particularly his remarkable promise that he would support and comfort all those who should be called to suffer or to die for his sake, which hath been illustriously fulfilled in ancient and in modern martyrs.

6. " He conferred miraculous and prophetic gifts on his disciples, and they on theirs.

7. " His religion was plain and popular, yet
pure

pure and holy, and tending to make men wiser and better, and it produced a multitude of good effects in the world.

8. "When it was first preached, it could never have made its way without the assistance of miracles.

9. "He lived and died an example of all that he taught, of all active and suffering virtues.

10. "He had no rival or antagonist, to make his authority appear doubtful, by opposing prophecies to his prophecies, and miracles to his miracles, from the time that he began his ministry to this day."

Mr. Jortin next states the supposition of the gospel *not* being true, in the form of an objection, said to be made by a learned and ingenious person, but who was inclined to scepticism.—"You often tell us," observed this gentleman to a friend of our author's, "how dangerous it is to reject the gospel, if it be true; but you consider not that there is the same danger in teaching it, if it be false. What can you say for yourselves when you
come

come to appear before God, if you have missed the people in so important a point?

The answer was short, but satisfactory, "we will suppose, if you please," replied his friend, "that christianity is not a divine revelation: let us consider the consequence.

"The consequence is that deism is the only true religion, and these are its great articles: one God, the immortality of the soul, or its permanency so long as it shall please God, a future state of retribution, the eternal differences of moral good and evil, an obligation to love God and man, and to live righteously and soberly.

"All these points are forcibly inculcated by christianity, and nothing is taught by us that invalidates them. If christianity be not true, we have been deluded, and have thought too well of those who introduced revealed religion into the world, and that is all. The delusion hath led us into no iniquity, and authorized no crimes: it has been the most innoxious of all errors, an error pleading for every virtue, and dissuading from every vice.

"What

“ What danger can there be in such a religion, even upon any supposition? And how can it be imagined that the father of mercies would not forgive such an error?

“ If christianity be true, the deist is in an error, and if his error be unavoidable, he is in the hands of a merciful God: but let him take heed that he deceive not himself, for if his unbelief arises from evil causes, *God is not mocked.*”

The inquiry into the authority due to the fathers and historians, upon whom the credit of the miracles said to be wrought subsequent to the apostolic age depends, is opened with a cautionary admonition, that “ as far as they fall short of the distinguishing characters belonging to the works of Christ and his apostles, so far they must fail of giving us the same full persuasion and satisfaction. And that they fall short in many instances, will appear to any one who shall examine them by the characters of the gospel miracles.”

The prosecution of this inquiry into, and estimate of the credit of the early christian writers, down to the age of Constantine occupies

cupies the remainder of the volume. In this series, the character and writings of Polycarp, Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Theophilus, Irenæus, and Origen are considered more at large than the others. The conduct of Marcus Aurelius towards the christians; some account of the montanists, the novatians, the manichæans (from Beausobre) and of Diocletion's persecution (begun A. D. 302.) necessarily constitute another considerable part of the volume before us.

Some general observations which are suggested by our author, when mentioning the martyrdom of Polycarp, (who suffered under Marcus Aurelius about A.D. 169,) upon the noble spirit with which the christians bore the cruel persecutions repeatedly carried on against them, deserve and will secure our attention. They are greatly interesting to the believer in the christian dispensation, and may induce serious reflections to him who shall doubt of the divine authority of the gospel with ingenuous modesty and diffidence, or as our author expresses himself on another

another occasion, "with academical precision."

"Whatever we determine," says Jortin, "concerning the wonders, the behaviour of Polycarp and of his contemporaries and fellow christians, teaches us to determine that God was with them, and assisted them. The sufferings of the christians afforded examples of courage and constancy which seemed more than human, and had an happy effect in converting others. We have authentic accounts of many persons, in the bloom of life, and of the infirmer sex, who received the sentence of condemnation to a cruel death without consternation, and underwent it without a complaint, and sometimes with exultation and joy. When we read that Arria gave her husband the sword from her bleeding breast, with, MY DEAR, IT IS NOTHING, we admire the deed and the speech. In the pagan lady such resolution is heroism; in the christian what is it less?"

"The persecution which the christians endured was the completion of Christ's predictions; the fortitude with which they endured

dured it was the completion of his promises. He bequeathed calamities and sufferings to them as a legacy, and he commanded them to die for his sake, a command hard to flesh and blood ! but he promised that he would be with them, and make his abode in them, and be their strength and support, when all things else should fail and forsake them.

“ Many were the motives which concurred to animate the ancient christians, motives which might sometimes produce an excess of courage bordering upon rashness and enthusiasm ; but as the love of life, and the abhorrence of pain are universal passions, there seems wanting a cause as universal to overcome them in persons of all nations, ages, sexes, and conditions, and there is none which will operate uniformly, besides a divine assistance, none to which we may more reasonably ascribe it, as to the leading and principal cause, since it suits so well with the predictions and the promises of Christ. Some will call the doctrine of divine assistance *fanaticism* ; but let them remember that many wise pagans held it, for they will

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perhaps

perhaps hearken to a platonist or a stoic. To suppose that God takes no care of good men in the violent trials and distresses which they undergo for his sake, is entertaining a mean opinion of providence. This divine favor was not confined to the three first centuries: it hath been extended to multitudes who since that time have fallen innocent victims to anti-christian tyranny, and have laid down their lives for their religion with as much constancy as the ancient christians.

“ But it will be said, all christian sects have had those whom they call martyrs; and shall we bestow that honorable appellation on the schismatical, or the erroneous?— I see not, says our author, how we can avoid it. If a person lays down his life for the name of Christ, or for what he takes to be the religion of Christ, when he might prolong his days by renouncing his faith, he must stand for a martyr in every reasonable man's calendar, though he may have been much mistaken in some of his opinions.

“ Marcus

" Marcus Aurelius, without repealing the old laws which condemned convicted christians, made an edict, that whosoever accused a christian should be put to death." This involved both parties. " He might have made a reasonable one, observes our liberal remarker, in four words, *NOLUMUS CHRISTIANOS AMPLIUS VEXARI !*" " Augustus, who had suffered all persons to approach him, shewed a more magnanimous mind, when a poor man once offered him a petition in a timorous manner, with a hand half extended and half drawn back, he jested with him, and told him that he looked as if he was giving a halfpenny to an elephant."

Upon the subject of the demoniacs in the new Testament, Mr. Jortin seems rather to have been unsettled, than satisfied, but more disposed to the belief of real possessions than to consider them as epileptics, or insane persons. Of the empire of Satan he speaks more than once, but it is in the conclusion of what he says on this part of his subject, that he adds, " thus much in behalf, not of belief, but of academical hesitation." And

reprobates the phraseology in our law proceedings on certain criminal charges, wherein the offence is said to be done at the motion and instigation of the devil ; for the consequence of ascribing “ almost every moral and natural evil to evil spirits, was no other, says he, than that a profligate fellow could not commit any misdemeanor, but it was, *siquis, instigante diabolo, &c.*”

When our author professes to have “ no notion of differing from worthy persons, living or dead, for the sake of *singularity* or of *contradiction*, in which he could discern no charms, and neither pleasure nor profit,”—we can very readily agree with him, and lament that there are any persons who can give occasion for such an observation. But when he goes on to tell us that “ to an opinion commonly received, and received by good men, when I cannot assent, I am inclined to say,

Invitus, regina, tuo de litore cessi.”

we may, in admitting the premises, wish to qualify the conclusion. For although much may be, and is, due to an opinion so supported, much more is due to that determined

mined investigation and sober judgment which become every honest inquirer :

Amicus Plato, amicus Socrates, sed magis amica veritas.

But the justly memorable John Hales, who is cited in this volume, resolves this question with a force and eloquence peculiar to truth. "The pursuit of truth," says he "hath been my only care, ever since I understood the meaning of the word. For this I have forsaken all hopes, all friends, all desires, which might byas me, and hinder me from driving right at what I aimed. For this I have spent my money, my means, my youth, my age, and all that I have.—If with all this cost and pains my purchase is but error, I may safely say, to err hath cost me more than it has many to find the truth ; and truth shall give me this testimony at last, that if I have missed of her, it is not my fault, but my misfortune."

Mr. Jortin concludes this volume with an appendix, in which he has entered more

at large into his reason for thinking that the Sadducees did not reject the prophets. And has also given many little additions of matter, which had before escaped his notice.

The few "Miscellaneous remarks on the sermons of archbishop Tillotson," which Mr. Jortin communicated to Dr. Birch for his "Life" of that amiable and eminent prelate, come next in review before us. They form the third number of the appendix to that work, which was printed 1752.*

Tillotson published his sermons on the divinity of Christ, to vindicate himself from the charge of socinianism, that is, says Jortin, from an accusation entirely groundless. The misrepresentations of enemies will sometimes give occasion for these vindications from all quarters; but it seems, that in vindicating himself from holding the opinions of Socinus, he made such concessions concerning socinians in respect to their good

* Page 442—450; and re-published in "Tracts philological &c." 1790. vol. i. p. 366-- 377.

good temper, their fair way of disputing, and of debating matters of religion, their close and clear reasoning, "as never were and never would be forgiven him." It fell out, unfortunately for the archbishop, that he offended the high orthodox party by his candor and justice, and failed to convince his adversaries by his arguments.*

South, cried aloud and spared not: he called the socinians "impious blasphemers, whose infamous pedigree ran back [from wretch to wretch] in a direct line to the devil himself; and who were fitter to be crushed by the civil magistrate, as destructive to go-

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vernment

* South in his "Animadversions on Dr. Sherlock's Vindication of the trinity," in 1693, occasionally reflected upon Tillotson for his "signal and peculiar encomium, as he calls it, of the reasoning abilities of the socinians;" and being desirous to know the archbishop's opinion of his performance, procured a friend of his to draw it from him, who gave it to this effect,—that "the doctor wrote like a man, but bit like a dog." This being reported to South, he answered, that "he had rather bite like a dog, than fawn like one." To which the archbishop replied, that "for his part he should chuse to be a SPANIEL, rather than a CUR." See Birch's "Life of Tillotson," p. 348.

vernment and society, than to be confuted as merely heretics in religion."

"Such," says Jortin, "is the true agonistic stile, or intolerant spirit; such the courage of a champion, who challenges his adversary, and then calls upon the constable to come and help him."

Another remark of Jortin's is on a sermon,* wherein the archbishop took occasion to recommend "seriousness in preaching, and to reprobate the breaking jests upon sin, and quibbling with the vices of the age." This was undoubtedly designed as a censure upon South, for saying, that "there is no fluxing a soul out of its immortality," and an hundred things of the same kind.

Again; when Tillotson said† "he could never yet attain to that bold and hardy degree of faith, as to believe any thing, for this reason, because it was impossible."—We are told that the preacher had in view the author of "Religio medici." But, says Jortin, "by

* See vol. ii. fo. edit. serm. lxx.

† See vol. iii. fo. edit. serm. cxi.

“ by impossibilities, sir Thomas Brown, as well as Tertullian, meant seeming, not real impossibilities ; and what he says, should be looked upon as a *verbum ardens*, a rhetorical flourish, and a trial of skill with Tertullian, in which, however, he had little chance to come off superior.

“ Tillotson judging, that the papists would make an ill use of this, and such passages as this, in protestant writers, was willing to pass a gentle animadversion upon it.

“ Sir Kenelm Digby, a roman catholic, who criticized several things in the “ *Religio medici*,” nevertheless gave his loud approbation to these pious fallies.”

This justified the suspicions of Tillotson, and might have excused a smarter reprehension. For who is not convinced that christianity and protestantism have suffered less from the malevolence and persecutions of their adversaries, than from the treachery and injudiciousness of their friends.

Mr. Jortin was fond of music, and learned it after he came to reside in London in 1730.

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He was a good player of thorough-bass on the harpsicord. His master was Mr. Petit, a frenchman, who is said to have been a good player of Corelli's music on the violin.* But the scholar appears to have considered and attended to it as a science, as well as an amusement and relaxation from severer studies. That Milton† should attune his lyre was natural, but that the rough and inflexible Luther‡ should be a composer and performer on music is extraordinary. Jortin was led to music by genius and temper. We have before had occasion to speak of his genius and talents for poetry; we may now form a very competent opinion of his taste and judgment in a sister art, from his "Letter concerning the music of the ancients." This letter is addressed to Mr. Avifon, the author of an "Essay on musical expression," and is added, without his name, to the second edition of that Essay, printed 1753; but is given to its proper

* See Nichols's "Anecdotes of Bowyer," p. 259.

† See "Letter," p. 26.

‡ See "Life of Erasmus," vol. i. p. 126.

per owner in the third edition published 1775.*

In order to discover our author's inducement to cultivate his turn for music, we need only to read his own elegant account of its innocent and inviting charms.

"The surprising powers of music," says he, "as related by several of the ancients, may justly pass for exaggerations. When Horace tells us that a wolf fled from him, who met him in the woods, as he was chanting the praises of the fair Lalagé, we conclude either that it is a poetical fib, or that he sang so ill as to frighten the savage.

"But surely music deserves the sober compliment paid to it by the same poet, when he calls it, the assuager of cares,

—— Minuenter atræ

Carminè curæ.

"It helps to relieve and sooth the mind, and is a sort of refuge from some of the evils of life, from slights, and neglects, and censures, and insults, and disappointments; from

* Republished in "Tracts philological" &c. 1790. vol. ii. p. 1—29.

from the wrath of real enemies, and the coldness of pretended friends; from your well-wishers, (as they may justly be called, in opposition to well-doers,) whose inclinations to serve you always decrease, in a most mathematical proportion, as their opportunities to do it increase; from

The proud man's contumely, and the spurns
Which patient merit of th' unworthy takes;

from grievances that are the growth of all times and places.

“ Many things we must expect to meet with, which it would be hard to bear, if a compensation were not to be found in honest endeavours to do well, in virtuous affections, and connections, and in harmless and reasonable amusements. And why should not a man amuse himself sometimes? *Vive la Bagatelle!* ”

But, so modest an opinion had Mr. Jortin of his knowledge of the theory of music either of former or later times, that he professes to offer “ nothing better than a few straggling passages of classic authors relating to music, and a few slight remarks added to them.

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These “straggling remarks,” however, are happily illustrated by the hand of a master; and his description of the music of the ancients, both vocal and instrumental, divested of all musical mysteries, is pleasingly related.

“The music of the ancients seems in general, says he, to have been more simple than ours, and perhaps it would not have the same effect upon us, as it had upon them, if we could retrieve it. We should probably find in it something to commend, and something to censure. For many reasons it may be supposed to have been superior beyond all measure to the execrable music of the modern Greeks, the Turks, Persians and Chinese, which yet is charming in their ears, and, in their fond opinion, would affect even things inanimate,

With magic numbers, and persuasive sound,
Thus it is with music: bad seems good,
'till you get acquainted with better.

“Yet one considerable advantage which arose even from the simplicity of the ancient tunes, and which greatly set off their concert

cert of vocal and instrumental music, was that the singer could be understood, and that the words had their effect as well as the music; and then the charms of elegant and pathetic poetry, aided and set off by the voice, person, manner and accent of the singer, and by the sound of the instruments, might affect the hearer very strongly. We must add to this the harmonious and unrivalled sweetness of the greek language,

—— cui non certaverit ulla,

Aut tantum fluere, aut totidem durare perannos.

“ But in modern performances of this kind, if you are not acquainted with the song, it is often entirely lost to you; nor can you always hear it distinctly, even when you know it by heart, or have it before you to read.

“ As to instrumental music, the fashion seems to be too precipitate in all lively and brisk movements. This, indeed, shews a hand; but the music often suffers by it: and a man may play, as well as talk, so fast that none can understand him. I have heard such performers,

performers, who had what is called *execution*, lead off the *Fugues* at such a rate, that one half of their companions were thrown out, and obliged to jump in again, as well as they could, from time to time. Yet the *Violino principale* chose rather to put up with a thousand dissonances, than to abate of his speed; a sure proof that if his hand was the hand of *Apollo*, his ears were the ears of *Midas*, and that he felt no part of the music but his own."

It will administer some consolation to those whose ears are not so nicely attuned to concords of sweet sound, to be well assured that they are not singular, and to be convinced, that if they have not the taste, they do not err in judgment, if they forbear to seek with the multitude, what they can neither comprehend, nor enjoy. Vigneul Marville's description of a musical entertainment has not been so long drawn, as to induce us to question its faithful representation of those mixed and motley assemblies.

" Being in the country one day, (says this experimental student in the power of music,)

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I had a mind to see whether beasts, as it is commonly said of them, take pleasure in music. Whilst my companion was playing upon an instrument, I considered attentively a cat, a dog, a horse, an ass, a hind, some cows, some little birds, and a cock and hens, which were in the court, below the window where we stood. The cat paid no regard to the music, and to judge by his physiognomy, he would have given all the symphonies in the world for one mouse; he stretched himself out in the sun and went to sleep. The horse stopped short before the window, and as he was grazing, he raised his head from time to time. The dog sat him down upon his hump, like a monkey, fixing his eyes stedfastly on the musician, and continued a long time in the same posture, with the air and attitude of a connoisseur. The ass took no notice at all of us, munching his thistles very demurely. The hind set up her large broad ears, and seemed extremely attentive. The cows gave us a look and then marched off. The little birds in a cage, and in the trees, strained their throats, and sang with
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the utmost eagerness; whilst the cock minded nothing but the hens, and the hens busied themselves in scratching the dung-hill."

The experiment, it is most probable, was really made upon this group of animals, and their respective behaviour faithfully reported; but the application of the account belongs to our author. "Imagine, says he, these creatures to be human creatures, and you will have no bad representation of one of our politest assemblies at a musical performance."

After this reproof of the general affectation of taste in the majority of the followers of musical meetings, which only makes the parties ridiculous; we may close our extracts from this elegant and classic letter, with the moral lesson which concludes it. After all, "there is no harmony so charming as that of a well ordered life, moving in concert with the sacred laws of virtue. Human nature, indeed, cannot hope to arrive at this perfection: the instrument will sometimes be out of tune; disallowances also and dis-

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nances will be sprinkled up and down; but they ought soon to give place to concords and to regularity, 'till the whole be closed in a just and agreeable cadence, and leave behind it a sweet and a lasting remembrance."

Dr. Burney has considered the foregoing letter as the production of Dr. Brown of Newcastle, and has remarked upon it with some degree of "polemical acrimony," as is observed by the editor of the last republication of this letter on the music of the ancients.* The ascription of this work to Dr. Brown must have arisen from Dr. Burney's having seen only the two anonymous publications of it; the third edition in 1775, bore the name of Dr. Jortin: what could excite "polemical acrimony" in the historian of music, when he might have paid the tribute of gratitude, is not worth inquiring.

Having been led to digress from the examination of the remarks on the ecclesiastical history, by the two small intervening publications

* See "Tracts philological" &c. 1790. vol. ii, p. 29. note: where reference is made to Burney's "History of music," vol. i. p. 109, &c.

cations on Tillotson's sermons, and on ancient music; we will now revert to the order of time, and proceed to the consideration of the next volume of that work.

In 1754 was published the third volume of our author's "Remarks on ecclesiastical history." Some part of the subject of it had been announced in the preceding volume, but the full compass of it is well and summarily described in the dedication to archbishop Herring. Here we are told that he had "endeavoured to examine and discuss, without adulation or dissimulation, with sober liberty and disinterested inquiry, the increasing of the church of Christ in splendor, and decreasing in virtue; the origin and progress of superstition and spiritual tyranny; the unhappy controversies which signalized the fourth century; the councils called to compose these disputes, and never answering the purposes for which they were designed; the character of the ecclesiastical historians who have transmitted to us the memory of these events; the laws of the first christian emperor, which, like himself,

had a mixture of good and bad ; the accomplishment of the prophecies in the destruction of the persecutors of christianity ; the state of the jews ever since their rejection, and the hopes which christians entertain that God, in his appointed time, will shew mercy and favour to his once chosen people."

The period of time to which the present volume is limited, is the reign of Constantine, in the fourth century, which began A. D. 307. and closed A. D. 337 *. It has been observed, that "as soon as christian societies began, debates began, and as soon as christianity was by law established, debates grew more violent †." The truth of the remark is confirmed by the history of the christian church under Constantine, who first gave it the supposed external advantage of an establishment by the laws of the empire. A christian emperor was a new character ; but the faith which he was desirous to preserve and

* See "Universal History," vol. xiv. p. 80 and 120.

† See Preface to first volume of "Remarks on E. H." p. xiii.

and promote suffered more from his protection and patronage, than from the persecution of Diocletian. To die in a good cause is gain to the sufferer; but to corrupt the christian faith by the application of imperial edicts, is to poison the fountain, and to protract its baneful effect so long as the stream continues to flow. It is indeed one argument in favour of christianity, that it was able not only to support itself, but to survive the heavy persecutions of its followers, as it bespeaks the superintending providence of God and is itself a fulfilment of the predictions of his prophets: but, supported in its corruptions by the secular power, it is scarcely able to hold up its head, because it ceases to exhibit its native charms to the reasonable understanding of mankind.

The soldiers under Constantine, as they were marching against Maxentius, were made to conceive of a shining or lucid cross, which was said to be seen in the sky, as-of a miracle wrought in their favour, though most probably it was no more than a natural ap-

pearance. This persuasion served to give enthusiasm to the army, and on this account his standard was made in the form of a cross, to perpetuate this omen of success *.

The worship of saints, martyrs and reliques; monkery, lying wonders, austerities, vows of virginity, pilgrimages, and a long detail of the like trumpery, derive their origin from the fourth century. Many of the converts from paganism retained much respect for their former superstitious rites, and the civil power countenanced their admission into the christian church. As the pagans, from honouring their heroes, soon began to deify them, the christians who were come over, or half-over from paganism, behaved themselves much in the same manner towards saints and martyrs. And when the times of martyrdom were past, and that kind of courage and constancy could not be exerted,

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* The Portuguese have adopted this symbol on their coin, with the surrounding legend, IN HOC SIGNO VINCES. Their superstition is greater than their opulence, or it would be doubtful whether they referred to their religion, neat as imported from Italy, or to their gold, as they receive it from Peru.

pious people contrived a voluntary martyrdom, inflicted pains on themselves, forsook their friends, retired into solitude, and renounced the innocent and even necessary comforts of life. The history of monkery here given will be found to be entertaining, lively and candid.

As the arian controversy constituted a memorable part of the events of the age we are upon, so it is here deservedly considered with some minuteness. A controversy which made much noise, and did more mischief. "It was the occasion of innumerable lies, flanders, forgeries, pretended miracles, persecutions, banishments, seditions and murders, of many false and partial histories, and of a multitude of councils which produced only confusion and discord." The council of Nice, where this controversy began, is very justly characterized, and the credit of all councils estimated according to their proper value in the minds of honest and peaceable christians.

In the accounts of the ecclesiastical historians of the fourth and part of the fifth centuries, the character of Eusebius, the

most learned bishop of his age, and the father of ecclesiastical history, occupies the principal part, in preference to those who are his usual companions. But Socrates the historian, Sozomen, Theodoret, and others are noticed in their turn.

The laws of Constantine, (most of which may be found in the Theodosian code,) as far as they respected the establishment of christianity by protecting its friends and harassing and persecuting others, are very judiciously remarked upon. Under Constantius, (the son of Constantine,) the spirit of intolerance, directed by a mistaken zeal, had so greatly increased the severity of the laws against paganism, "that sacrificing, together with idolatrous worship, was made a capital crime." And in our own country the same pious care was taken for the better establishment of the trinity, when by an ordinance of parliament of 1648, the denial of that incomprehensible mystery was punished by *death without benefit of clergy* *. Thus the punishment of pagan idolatry with death, unjustifiable

* See Scobell's "Collection of acts," &c. p. 149.

unjustifiable as it was on every account, was a precedent for inflicting the like sentence upon the worshippers of the one only living and true God, the creator and governor of the world. How fluctuating and convertible are all penal laws in religion!

Nothing can more clearly prove the dangers to which power and authority expose their possessors, than the early “taste which christians acquired for *wholesome severities*. First they deprived heretics of their places of worship, then they forbade them to assemble any where, and then they fined, imprisoned, banished, starved, whipped, and hanged them, for the advancement of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and for the honour of christianity. Such were the dictates of *public wisdom*. In the mean time, the bishops, in their councils, made canons forbidding any catholic to marry his children to heretics, or leave them any legacy, though they were the nearest relations.

“The laws against heretics collected in the Theodosian code, stand as a shameful monument of the persecuting anti-christian spirit,
which

which brake out in the fourth century, and grew more and more violent in the following times."

Mr. Jortin adds, by way of a general justification of himself, that, "it is the duty of historians to give an impartial and just account of such cruel proceedings, that people may be taught to love their liberties, civil and religious, and to beware of those who would strip them of these blessings, and also, *ut qui infantes damnaverunt, ipsi causam dicant omnibus sæculis.*"

The next view we are led to take of the history of the christian church, is the untimely and unusual deaths of many of the persecuting emperors, princes, and magistrates, in respect to the matter of fact, and also in reference to the prophecies concerning them. Mr. Jortin requests the candid judgment of the reader by very properly recommending much caution upon this head. "There is usually much rashness and presumption," says he, "in pronouncing that the calamities of sinners are particular judgments of God; yet, if, from sacred and profane, from ancient
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and modern historians, a collection were made of all the cruel persecuting tyrants, who delighted in tormenting their fellow creatures, and who died not the common death of all men, nor were visited after the visitation of all men, but whose plagues were horrible and strange, even a sceptic would be moved at the evidence, and would be apt to suspect that it was *θεῖον τι*, that the hand of God was in it."

In support of one part of this general observation, our author gives a long detail of these persecutors, the pest and scourge of religion and humanity, whose deaths were attended with circumstances correspondent to the flagitious acts of their lives. And in support of the second, he has particularly adverted to and delivered his construction of the hundred and tenth psalm.

The last great division of the history of the christian church in the age of Constantine, leads to the consideration of the state of the jews; and our author hath taken the account so early, as from the destruction of Jerusalem by Vespasian and Titus, and a second time by Adrian, continuing his history

tory through the successive and almost unceasing persecutions which that people have undergone unto our own time.

In the course of this history, our attention is called to a prophecy of our lord's, in which he says, (John v. 43.) *I am come in my father's name, and ye receive me not: if another shall come in his own name, him ye will receive.* And we are presented with a long, and I had almost said, a chronological, list of false christs, from which it appears that the prophecy concerning them has frequently been fulfilled. Whence "it may seem strange," as our historian very properly remarks, "that the jews should have rejected Christ, who gave them so many proofs of his mission, and yet should follow every impostor, who pretended to be the messiah, without offering any sufficient or even plausible evidence of it. The reason is plain: our saviour by not setting up a temporal kingdom, dashed all their worldly views at once; but the other claimers of the title of the messiah began with promises of delivering them from their

their enemies, and restoring to them their country and their lost liberties."

The difficulties which the conversion of this unhappy people to the great and cheering truths of the gospel of Christ, make a necessary and to us a very important part of our author's discussion of his subject. The question will naturally recur to every inquisitive and reflecting mind,---how is it that the jews continue to resist the evidences of christianity? and what measures must be taken to convince them of its truth?---So far as respects the state of the greatest part of christendom, it may be observed, that the doctrines and commandments of men are presented to them as the doctrines of the gospel, and all the complicated impieties of the romish superstition are tendered as the teachings of Christ; here then is little room, according to our apprehension, to wonder at their persisting to withhold their assent from a system which has so few and faint, if any, marks of a divine original. "The violence" says Jortin, "which a man must offer to his own senses and reason, and the slavish deference that he must pay to human

human authority, before he can enter into that communion ; the divine honors given to the virgin Mary ; the worship of angels, saints, crosses, wafers, coffins, bones, rags, old iron, reliques, pictures, and images, supported by ridiculous miracles and traditionary lies ; the tyranny of the church, and the cruelty of the inquisition ; these are insuperable obstructions to the conversion of the jews, and excite in them prejudices against christianity that are too strong and too plausible to be easily removed. The jews abhor idolatry, and every thing that borders upon it, and in popish countries they have no notion of any other christianity than what is there professed, and what they see before their eyes."

All this may possibly be very readily granted by a large majority of my countrymen, who, not being parties immediately concerned, are more competent to form their opinion, and no less prompt to declare it. But it is an interesting concern, which comes home to us all, to inquire, further, how the matter stands with the jews dispersed in protestant

testant nations. Upon this question, our author's observations have the more weight with me, because, with all the candor of his mind, he saw, in a great degree, the impediments to their conversion, in a just light, and scorned to suppress the relation of them, and by such suppression to share in the scandal, or become accessory to their continuance. "The jews," says he, "who dwell in protestant countries have not the same causes to dislike christianity, which appears with more simplicity, which offers itself to examination, which is purged from superstitious practices, and which forces itself upon no one with imperious insolence. But in the reformed nations too many obstacles remain to prevent and discourage the conversion of that people; such as arise from the little influence which the gospel is observed to have upon the lives and manners of many of its professors; from the disunion of christians, and their division and subdivision into various sects, which usually entertain no favorable opinion of each other.

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“ If I should embrace christianity, a jew might say, I have just begun the laborious inquiry : it remains to consider to whom I should join myself, and here I am quite perplexed with your divisions. If I should go over to the church of Rome, the protestants will condemn my judgment, and say that I have made a miserable choice; if I become a protestant, the papists will tell me I might as well have remained a jew; schismatics and heretics are in their opinion in as bad a situation, and as much excluded from salvation as jews, mahometans, deists, sceptics, and atheists; if I am a protestant of this or that denomination, other sects of protestants will blame me, and think me still in a dangerous situation, and perhaps calls me a schismatic.

“ Thus some jews have reasoned; and that we may not be thought,” continues our author, “ to have furnished them with objections which we cannot answer, let us offer a short reply. It might then be said to the jew; search the scriptures, and examine our arguments, and if they convince you, receive the gospel,

gospel, and believe in Christ. You are then his subject, and his servant; for it is not your belonging to this or that church, that makes you a christian, but your belief that Jesus is the son of God, and the messias. The rest you may do at your leisure, and it is not so laborious a task as you suspect. Only consider what the church of Rome, and what the protestant churches require of you, and judge which is the most reasonable, and the most conformable to the new Testament. The church of England in her form of *baptism for those of riper years*, requires of you only an assent to the christian religion in general, and to the apostles creed in particular."

We now begin to discern where the difficulty lies. The office referred to involves much more than is here represented to be expressly demanded. And it is presumed that the church of England would not require of her clergy to subscribe to articles, liturgy, and homilies, which she does not think necessary for her lay-members to believe. The fact is, that when we descend into any establishment, as they are all now constituted, we feel, and

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might as well as ingenunusly own, that we are confronted by one objection of the jews, which we cannot answer.

The further we proceed to particulars, the more decidedly does their objection advance upon us. " Another great and well known difficulty in the conversion of the jews (as also of the mahometans,) is the doctrine of the holy trinity, which they have always been taught to look upon as not reconcileable with the unity of God. All that I shall say to this," says Jortin, " is, that no one should attempt to remove this prejudice, and to satisfy them upon this subject, 'till he has brought them to believe the divine mission of Jesus Christ, and his character as prophet, messias, teacher of truth, and worker of miracles. If they will not admit the things relating to his offices and ministry, it would be a vain and uselefs undertaking to debate with them about the dignity of his nature. And when it is necessary to proceed to that part of christianity, this doctrine should be represented even as it is delivered in the new Testament, and no otherwise : and then many things may be observed concerning

concerning the *Λογος*, the *angel of God's presence*, and the *angel of the covenant*, from the old Testament, and from Philo, and from some ancient jewish writers."

I have recited this faint direction for the solution of this difficulty, as I find it among the "Remarks" before us; though, according to my apprehension, it is very inadequate to the demands of truth, or the nature of the case. Whatever may be observed "concerning the *Λογος*, the *angel of God's presence*, and the *angel of the covenant*, from the old Testament, and from Philo, and from ancient jewish writers," in support of the scheme of the pre-existence of Christ, will strengthen, rather than remove, the objections both of the jews and the mahometans; the former of whom never looked for the messiah in any other character than that of a man born of a woman,* however they may be otherwise mistaken concerning him; and both jews and mahometans agree in the full persuasion that the Lord their God, is one Lord, the one cause, creator, and governor of all things, without admitting any scholastic

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* So stated by Jortin in his "Discourses" &c. p. 17.

or metaphysical distinctions or refinements, in accommodation to the systems and inventions of those, who vainly affect to be wise above what is written. Indeed, Mr. Jortin, while he retained these notions of the arian scheme, which, most probably, were those which he embraced himself, had too catholic a spirit to wish to incorporate his own notions into a public profession of faith, or to enlarge the apostolic test of our christian fellowship proposed by Philip, who only said to the eunuch, (Acts viii. 37.) *If thou believest with all thine heart, thou mayest be baptised. And he answered and said, I believe that Jesus Christ is the son of God.* The importance and sufficiency of this declaration is apparent from the observation of our lord himself, who said, *This is life eternal, that they may know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent.* (John xvii. 3.)

In confirmation of these remarks respecting the removal of all impediments to the full display of the gospel, and the consequent conversion of jews and mahometans, he observes, in the genuine spirit of a christian and a protestant who well understood his liberty,
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and who sensibly felt certain encroachments upon it, that “ the next step towards the increase of Christ’s kingdom must be a further improvement of christianity, and of those who receive and profess it. The church of Rome, says he, is NOT the only church that wants amendment. Other christian societies which have separated themselves from her, and from her grosser defects, are departed, more or less, from the original simplicity of the gospel, and have mixed some doctrines of men with the word of God, and so stand in need of some improvement.

“ It is therefore to be hoped that a time will come when religion will have a fairer and more alluring aspect, when christians will be united, not in opinion as to all theological points, for that is impossible whilst men are men, but that they will be united in benevolence and charity, in intercommunion, and in one common and simple profession of faith ; that their manners will be suitable to their profession, and that they will be more peaceable, more virtuous, and more pious ; and then the external impediments to the conversion of unbelievers will in no small

measure be removed. These are amendments which seem, besides human efforts, to require such a concurrence of favourable circumstances as scarcely ever meet and are united, together with supernatural aids, and an effusion of divine gifts and graces. Therefore, it may be said, such a change, such a regeneration of mankind is not to be expected. And yet strange things have been accomplished. Who that had seen the dreadful destruction of Jerusalem could have thought that the jewish nation, so enfeebled, so dispersed, so abhorred, and so oppressed in all places, would have subsisted for seventeen hundred ages? Who that had beheld the beginnings of christianity, and the difficulties which it had to encounter could have imagined that it would spread through the known world? Who that had seen a poor monk set his face against popes and emperors, would have believed that the preaching of Luther should have brought about a reformation, and the establishment of the protestant religion?

“ Nothing

“ Nothing is too hard for omnipotence : great and glorious changes, even a *new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness*, may be produced by instruments and by methods of which we are now ignorant, and which it is vain to seek out by conjectures. These secret things belong to the Lord our God, and to him we must leave them. Our duty is to do all that lies in our power towards increasing his dominion, by studying to understand his gospel, by a sober care and concern to live suitably to its holy precepts, and by not only wishing and praying, but endeavouring that his kingdom may come, and his will be done on earth as it is in heaven.”

When our author emphatically remarks that the church of Rome is not the only church that wants amendment ; there can be no mistaking his meaning, nor any injustice done to his memory, by supposing that he had in his mind, the church of England, as now by law established. Upon this presumption, concerning this, and other general liberal sentiments which are plentifully scattered over all his works, his ene-

mies, who had acquired a taste, with certain early christians, for wholesome severities, did not cease to reproach and scandalize him; and, but for a better spirit in the world at large, would have given substantial form to their displeasure and resentment. So true is it of others, as well as of bishop Gardiner, that they "understand the stewing of lettuces, and the broiling of heretics, much better than the principles and precepts of christianity*:" but since the ecclesiastical market has ceased to be furnished with martyrs, one half of the work of the orthodox is finished. An old proverb has it, that, "cleanliness is next to godliness;" and upon this being observed in the ear of an Oxford professor, he abruptly replied, that "in cookery it were a much better thing." The bishop's adroitness in the culinary art, and the professor's cleanliness may now be innocently employed, without having human sacrifices for the subject of their united proficiency.

But, concerning the specific defects in the established church we are not expressly informed.

* See "Life of Erasmus," vol. ii. p. 721.

formed. It is, however, very obvious to me, that Mr. Jortin would have been found among that very numerous body of learned and good men, who have cordially joined in the earnest wish of Tillotson concerning the creed usually called, the creed of Athanasius, that the church were well rid of it. A wish that hath been repeated by a thousand pens. For indeed its two primary properties are the same with those of the creed of Cyril, who was president of the factious council of Ephesus, which consisted of two parts; of curses, and of doctrines: the curses were intelligible, and the doctrines were unintelligible. "If it had been the reverse," says Jortin, "it had been more for his credit."* Even good tempered trinitarians consider it as no imputation on their orthodoxy, to wish the church well rid of a creed, which discredits every pretension to christian charity; and

* In the addenda; Mr. Jortin has substituted the following account of Cyril's confession of faith, (or his anathematisms,) "it was injudicious, obscure, uncharitable, and I think not reconcileable with the holy scriptures." A description which will as pointedly apply to the creed of Athanasius, as to the creed of Cyril.

and politic trinitarians wish it secretly removed, lest the minds of plain and honest christians, shocked at the impiety of its imprecations, should, in the same remonstrance, raise their voices against the contradictions and absurdities of its doctrines.

I do not imagine, however, that our author looked with a more friendly eye to the doctrines than to the curses of this creed; for as the one offended against the natural mildness of his temper, and the benevolent spirit of the christian dispensation; the other stood out against every principle of reason, and every page of revelation.

The most explicit declaration of Mr. Jortin upon this head, that I can recollect, is that "it seemed to him to be a fair inference from those passages of the holy scriptures which concern the dignity of our lord's nature, that the son possessed from all eternity all that the infinite love and infinite power and infinite wisdom of the father could communicate."

And yet, when we find so able and discerning a critic, and so ingenuous a mind, observing

observing just before, that because St. John says "all things were made by the *word*," and St. Paul says that "God made all things by his *son*," therefore the *word* and the *son*, were one and the same person, such an observation though common, and repeatedly refuted,* can only remind us of another, stated indeed to expose the fallacy of such wretched distortion and misapplication of scripture. *There went out a decree from Cæsar Augustus, that all the world should be taxed.* Here we have a *tax*, but not a word of a *parliament*. And then to clinch it, throw in the text. *Render therefore unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's*; and I will be bound to shew, says my author, that you have as good a scripture proof for this article, as some commentators have brought to authorize some others that I could name.†

"The famous Postellus, we are told, observed that there were eleven thousand proofs of

* See particularly Lardner's "Letter on the Logos," p. 18. also p. 70---74. (his Works, vol. xi. p. 95. and 120---124.) Lindsey's "Catechist," p. 78---82. and his "Examination of Robinson's Plea," p. 61---62.

† See the "Confessional," 3d. edit p. 42. note.

of the trinity, in the old Testament, interpreted rightly, that is, *ετυμολογικομυσικοκαθε-
βαλισιχως.*"

On the other hand, Mr. Blaney, in his notes on Jeremiah xxiii. 6. in his late learned translation of that prophet, says, he "doubts not but some persons will be offended with him for depriving them by his translation of a favorite argument for proving the divinity of our saviour from the old Testament; a doctrine which draws its *decisive* proofs from the new Testament only." So much could the visionary conceits of Postellus discover, where Blaney ingenuously owns he could honestly find nothing. And, if we may here add an observation of Eusebius, and which has often been made since his time, and apply it to Mr. Blaney's *decisive* proofs of our Lord's supposed divinity in the new Testament, it will, so long as it can be supported by truth, go a great way in justifying very strong suspicions against the clear decision of these imagined proofs. "Our saviour hath taught us," says this venerable historian, "what we ought to think concerning him, in order to
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obtain salvation: *God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten son, that whosoever believeth in him, may have life eternal.* He says not, he who *knoweth* his nature, but he who *believeth* in him.*

In this variety of opinions, it is the way of some to appeal to the determinations of councils, as the residence of the collected wisdom of the church. But our author has taken some pains to shew, and has indeed demonstrated that they are, in every view, undeserving of any credit, confidence, or authority, not only as being primarily incompetent to decide for others, but as having invariably abused, perverted, and disgraced the ostensible design of their meetings. † And indeed there is a significant old adage against our abiding by the doctrine of numbers upon theological questions, which is aptly applied by our author ;

Est turba semper argumentum pessimi.

Alexander

* Eusebius contra Marc. cited in "Remarks on E.H." vol. iii. p. 163.

† See "Remarks on E. H." vol. i. pref. p. xiv---xix. vol. iii. p. 53---72. and "Life of Erasmus," vol. i. p. 515.

Alexander bishop of Alexandria, it seems, assumed to himself both the wisdom and the power of a general council, or, as we should speak, united in his own person the legislative and the executive powers, for he commanded Arius to come over to his sentiments, and to quit his own: "as if a man could change his opinions," says Jortin, "as easily as he can change his coat;" or, as if he had picked them up, as Sterne somewhere writes, as a man would pick up golden pippins.

Where opinions are thus lightly entertained, there is no pretension to consider them as the real sentiments of the men who avow them; and may therefore be transferable in the same easy and indifferent way, in which they were acquired. But the holders of them can never be considered as seriously convinced either of their truth, or their importance, any more than the infamous colonel K——, who when Charles the second, of no less profligate memory, solicited him to turn papist, replied that he very willingly would have obliged his majesty, but that he had before promised the grand seignior that if ever he changed his religion, he would turn mahometan.

CHAPTER V.

Admitted to the degree of doctor in divinity at Lambeth ; publishes his " Six dissertations upon different subjects." 1755.

Archbishop Herring's friendship for our author was shewn on different occasions by rendering him substantial services, by intending others in which he was not able to succeed, and by general attentions which marked his regard and esteem for Mr. Jortin.*

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* Mr. Jortin has left a manuscript note of his acquaintance with and friendship for the archbishop, an extract from which as I find it in Nichols's Anecdotes of Bowyer, p. 261. note, and in the preface to the first vol. of the " Tracts philological," &c. p. ix.---xi.—" Archbishop Herring and I," says he " were of Jesus college in Cambridge ; but he left it about the time when I was admitted, and went to another. [Benet college]. Afterwards, when he was preacher at Lincoln's Inn, I knew him better, and visited him. He was at that time, and long before, very intimate with Mr. Say, [Francis Say, esq. librarian to queen Caroline, and secretary to five succeeding bishops of Ely,] his friend and mine, who lived in Ely-house ; and Mr. Say, to my knowledge, omitted no opportunity to recommend

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In the year 1755, the archbishop conferred upon him the degree of doctor in divinity. "I thought it too late in life," writes Jortin in a private manuscript, "as I told him, to go and take it at Cambridge, under a professor, who, in point of academical standing, might have taken his first degree under me, when I was moderator. I was willing

me to him. When he was archbishop of York, he expected that a good living would lapse into his hands; and he told Mr. Say, that he designed it for me. He was disappointed in his expectation; so was not I; for I had no inclination to go and dwell in the north of England. When Mr. Say died, [Sept. 10, 1748.] he asked me, of his own accord, whether I should like to succeed him in the queen's library: I told him that nothing could be more acceptable to me; and he immediately used all his interest to procure it for me; but he could not obtain it. A person, who is not worth the naming, [Archibald Bower,] was preferred to me by the solicitation of—it matters not who.

"The archbishop afterwards assured me of his assistance towards procuring either the preacher'ship or the mastership of the Charter-house, where I had gone to school. This project also failed; not by his fault, but by the opposition of—it matters not who.

"In conjunction with bishop Sherlock, he likewise procured for me the preaching of Boyle's Lectures. He also offered

willing to owe this favour to him, which I would not have asked or accepted from any other archbishop."*

But, besides the complimentary accommodation of Dr. Jortin, in sparing him a disagreeable errand to Cambridge, as he states it above, he was also excused subscribing the thirty-nine articles, agreeably to the privilege of dispensing with such subscription, which is uniformly claimed and exercised by the archbishops of Canterbury. It is not so generally known

offered me a living in the country, and, (which I esteemed a singular favour) he gave me leave to decline it, without taking it amiss in the least; and said, that he would endeavour to serve me in a way that should be more acceptable. He did so, and gave me a living in the city. [St. Dunstan's in the east.]

"That some persons besides Mr. Say, did recommend me to him, I know, and was obliged to them for it. But I must add, that on this occasion, they did only *circumspice*,—spur the free courser; and that he would have done what he did without their interposition.

For a character of this excellent person, Mr. Say, drawn up as was supposed by archbishop Herring; See Nichols's "Anecdotes of Bowyer." p. 261. note.

* See the copies of the manuscript referred to in the preceding note.

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known as it ought to be, that a degree in divinity is conferred at Lambeth without the previous subscription which is required by the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. A circumstance this, which would make it more eligible to many, than the apprehension of merely performing the academical exercise before a professor, who might have taken his first degree under the party who keeps the act. It should not, however, be insinuated that this exemption from subscription had any weight with Dr. Jortin: he says nothing of it himself, and I am not disposed to travel into the regions of conjecture, but to relate a narrative of facts. His readily renouncing, for a time, the use of the athanasian creed, which we are told upon the authority of Whiston* ;
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* "About the year 1736," says Whiston, "and before queen Caroline died, Mr. Jortin, a great and learned friend of mine, and from whom I afterwards received a remedy of Sir Edward Hulse's for a great disorder I was then in, which by God's blessing, saved my life, told me, that the late duke of Somerset, a great athanasian, once forbid his chaplain to read the athanasian creed, (which I imagined was occasioned by a suggestion from the queen; to whom I had

and from other instances of his dislike of the use of that creed, which have been mentioned by a friend now living; together with his repeated expressions of disapprobation of subscription, in its present form at least, which are to be found in the course of his writings †, raise suspicions of this kind; but they are only suspicions. And as he afterwards subscribed,

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I had complained, that although she was queen, that creed was not yet laid aside :) whereupon Mr. Jortin left off the same creed for some time." See Whiston's Memoirs, second edition, vol. i. p. 298 and 299.—Where he goes on to say, "Mr. Jortin has also lately published a very good book for the christian religion: which I suppose he believes, as do the rest of his brethren, but *hardly in earnest*, so as to suffer any thing for it. Which believing *in earnest*, it is next to impossible for one of his abilities to do, while he has not publicly repented of his having so often formerly cursed the Eusebians, or primitive christians." Jortin's life and writings were devoted to the advancement of learning and rational christianity, but neither he, nor his admired Erasmus, any more than father Paul, had the spirit of Luther, or the determined temper of Whiston.

† See "Remarks on E. H." vol. ii. p. 225. and vol. iii. p. 85 and 86. "Life of Erasmus," vol. i. p. 198 and 199, also p. 609. See also his "Tracts philological," &c. vol. i. 417—427. for Strictures on the articles, subscriptions, tests, &c.

scribed, more than once, on admission to his subsequent preferments, they cannot be insisted upon with any confidence; for I trust he would no more have violated the clear convictions of his conscience, for the sake of a good living, than for the purchase of an empty compliment.

Some obvious remarks may be allowed us here, without hurt to our history, which may the more easily admit of them, as they are of real importance in their consequences, though not particularly concerned with the case or person of Dr. Jortin. In this dispensing privilege, possessed by the primate, and which is also extended to the granting dispensations for holding two livings, it should seem there is more discernment and discretion supposed to belong to his grace, than may be found in the collected wisdom of the two universities. If the Lambeth honors and immunities are not bestowed upon too easy terms, Oxford and Cambridge give theirs upon very hard ones. And as I do not apprehend that experience will justify any imputation against the expediency of the
 archiepiscopal

archiepiscopal indulgences, the practice itself, at once destroys the commonly presumed necessity of the academical restrictions. So, likewise, if a dispensation to hold two livings may be safely granted without subscription, may it not be asked, on what reasonable principle can it be required for institution to one? And again, as subscription is not required of bishops at their consecration, wherefore is it demanded, and how can it consistently be required of priests and deacons at their ordination?

But we will proceed with our author. In the same year (1755,) in which he was preferred to his degree in divinity, he published his "Six dissertations on different subjects," which "are equally remarkable, (says Dr. Knox) for taste, learning, originality, and ingenuity."* They are upon "subjects theological, moral, and historical, and as such," says their author in a very short preface, "of general use and application. The last essay," adds he, "is rather of the

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philological .

* See Knox's "Essays," as before.

philological kind, and intended for those who are somewhat conversant with the classic writers, and with the learned languages."

The first, third, fourth, and fifth of these dissertations retain the form of sermons, and bear internal evidence of their having been compositions intended for, and perhaps delivered from, the pulpit.

The subject of the *first* dissertation is "the doctrines of divine assistance and human liberty." To this is prefixed, (Ephesians ii. 5.) *By grace ye are saved.* Our author, in the first place, considers the question as a metaphysical subject, and then the various senses of the word "mystery," and the nature and extent of that salvation promised by the apostle Paul. He next proceeds to discuss the meaning of the word "grace;" how our salvation is owing to this grace; and how it is owing to our own endeavours.

The more general spread of calvinism probably directed Dr. Jortin to the consideration of the subject of this, and some of the other dissertations in the volume before us, and they are well deserving of the serious
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and dispassionate attention of all professing christians, particularly of those whose warm imaginations may take the lead of their better judgment. " As to the divine assistance, or the ordinary influence of the holy spirit upon the soul of man, it is not to be expected that we should determine how often and upon what occasions it is imparted, or explain in what manner it is performed, because it cannot be distinguished from the operations of the mind itself, as every ingenuous christian will own. No one can shew where the action of the human spirit ends, and where the action of the divine spirit begins. But as man is a rational creature, and as reason is the noblest of his faculties, we may justly conclude that the holy spirit acts upon him in a way conformable to his nature, and principally by strengthening and improving his understanding, which will naturally have a good effect upon his behaviour ; and consequently the surest evidence a christian can give of having this divine assistance, is, to reason justly and to act honestly. This, I say, is the best proof or

test, though it be one which will by no means please or suit fanatics and enthusiasts."

In the conclusion, as the result of the inquiry, he observes, that " when the scriptures tell us in some places that we are saved by " grace," and, in other places, that good men work out their own salvation, there is no inconsistency in this. They are saved by grace, because without God's favorable assistance and acceptance of their imperfect endeavours, they could not of themselves acquire eternal life ; and, at the same time, it is no less true that they work out their own salvation, because unless they exert their own powers, the grace of God alone, will in no wise force them to be saved. Thus God's working in or with us, and our working together with God, are easily reconciled. And so likewise are those places of scripture in which the wicked are represented usually as hardening themselves, and sometimes as being hardened of God. They harden themselves, because it is by their choice, by their own obstinacy and perverseness that they become

come obdurate; and they are hardened of God, not by any proper and immediate act of God depriving them of reason and liberty, or compelling them to do evil; but quite on the contrary, by his continuing to give them both motives and opportunities to do well, which gifts being rejected and abused, are the innocent cause, or the occasion of their greater wickedness, and in this sense they are hardened by the very goodness of God. Besides, in the style of the scriptures, God is often said to do, what he only permits to be done, and in all other languages also, the occasion is put for the cause, both as to persons, and as to things. *I came not to send peace upon earth, but a sword*, says our lord; that is, my gospel, though it ought to produce peace and love, will prove the occasion of strife and enmity.

“ Thus the doctrine of divine grace, and the doctrine of free-will, or human liberty, unite and conspire in a friendly manner to our everlasting good. The first is adapted to excite in us gratitude, faith, and humility; the

the second to awaken our caution, and to quicken our diligence."

The *second* dissertation, being historical, is written in a manner wholly different from the first, though in subject matter connected with it. It is on the controversies concerning predestination and grace.

The history commences with the rise of this dispute between Pelagius, a defender of free will and human liberty, and Augustin, who was a fatalist, about the beginning of the fifth century. The account down to the following century is chiefly abridged from Le Clerc. Concerning the subsequent period, mention is made only of a few memorable things relating to it.

There is one observation deserving of particular notice, not only as being peculiarly applicable to the controversies on the present subject, but to other very interesting theological questions. "Never was there a dispute," says he, "more embarrassed than this; because each party, being pressed by some troublesome consequence, endeavoured to shun the difficulty, by using terms to which they

they gave a sense different from that which their adversaries ascribed to the same words." Such conduct cannot be too severely reprehended, because it is subversive of all useful knowledge and common honesty; when practised to elude the discovery of truth, it is base and disingenuous; when to screen the disputant from the consequences of his opinion, it is cowardly and unmanly. The same difficulties have been introduced and multiplied, by the same behaviour, in the disputes which have been held in the christian world relating to the doctrine of the trinity; and this duplicity, veiled under the sacred name of learning, is continued in our own times. Many modern as well as ancient writers have been wont to affect, in their writings, an accommodating soundness in the faith, who have, nevertheless, been strongly, and, I think, justly suspected of not really entertaining the unequivocal import of the terms, or even the arguments they have used. But have artfully introduced unintelligible distinctions, and cast them, like a mantle, over the plain and reasonable, and genuine gospel

pel of Christ. By this sad misapplication of much learning and eminent abilities, which has, unhappily for the christian cause, been more practised in theology than in philosophy, many serious and important truths have greatly suffered ; and the light attainable by the human mind, has been withheld from dispelling the general darkness which hung over the intellectual world at large.

There is neither less presumption, nor less fallibility in the decisions of a council than of an individual, if they be intended to affect any besides the parties who personally and voluntarily concur in them. Our author very properly places them in that point of view, from which alone we can derive advantage from them ; for their history being once known, (and the history of one, is pretty nearly the history of all,) the consequence follows of course. “ The different views and interests of the church of Rome,” (writes Dr. Jortin, who professes at the same time to have been obliged to Le Clerc,) “ or the factions which happened to be stronger or weaker,

weaker, led her to absolve and to condemn the self same doctrine under different denominations. Each party either magnified or despised her authority, according as they were treated by her, and pretended to hold in abomination the opinions which had been anathematized as heretical, for fear of offending her, whilst they really maintained them under other names, and in other expressions. The church of Rome condemned St. Augustin and St. Thomas without being willing to do so, and defended the doctrines of the semi-pelagians, or of the reformed, without suffering them to be acknowledged. The divines, embarrassed by equivocal expressions, and full of perplexity, could not distinguish friends from foes. The people, stunned and heated with these disputes, took side, without knowing wherefore. The powers acted, as is usual, not with any discernment of the merits of the cause, but by interest, and at the instigation of those in whom they confided, without any reason to depend upon their sincerity or their skill; and oppressed and condemned one side, without being informed

formed of the truth, which if the ecclesiastical assemblies defended, it was by mere chance, as at other times they opposed it no less at random. Their equivocal decisions were eluded by subtle distinctions which they dared not to discuss. Violence was employed to ruin a party, for fear of being treated in the same manner, if it prevailed: and all these unrighteous proceedings were masked with the godly pretence of maintaining orthodox doctrines, which want nothing besides liberty of conscience and a fair hearing, to satisfy reasonable persons and to plead their own cause. It is to be feared that christians will pursue the same methods, of disputing about the means and helps to obtain moral goodness, without studying to practise the thing itself. This account, however, may be of some use to teach men how to behave in like circumstances, and to avoid the faults of others, without which a knowledge of those quarrelsome transactions will be of small importance."

From our author's apprehension of the revival of the sect of gossellers, (who, according

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to Burnet, thought that if they magnified Christ much, and depended on his merits and intercession, they could not perish which way soever they led their lives,) in the calvinists of our own time, he no less candidly than justly observes, that "to reason with such persons, signifies little; reason, as well as learning, is what they shun and disregard, and to all your arguments they will oppose their own feelings and experience. To oppress and persecute them is scandalous in itself, and can produce no good effect. Never was any man beaten into a right understanding, and never did God give a blessing to such proceedings. All that remains is to caution and exhort those who have not caught the infection, and to try if we can in some measure serve and secure the next generation."

The state of our own country, at the time of the synod of Dort, in the beginning of the last century, is represented in a way that holds more true in respect of the generally prevailing opinion of individuals, than of the established ecclesiastical constitution of the kingdom. Dr. Jortin says, "we
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also were much divided in our opinions concerning the controverted articles; but our divines having taken the liberty to think and judge for themselves, and the civil government not interposing, it hath come to pass that, from that time to this, almost all persons here of any note for learning and abilities have bid adieu to calvinism, have sided with the remonstrants, and have left the fatalists to follow their own opinions, and to rejoice, (since they can rejoice,) in a religious system, consisting of human creatures without liberty, doctrines without sense, faith without reason, and a God without mercy.”*

It will appear to any impartial person that some qualification or abatement in this account is necessary to bring it nearer to the matter of fact. Our divines had taken the liberty to determine these questions in favor of the calvinists more

* “This system,” observes Dr. Jortin, “so far as it relates to the eternal misery of infants for the fault of Adam, is the very fable of the wolf and the lamb:

Ante hos sex menses male, ait, dixisti mihi.

Respondit agnus; equidem natus non-eram.

Pater, hercule, tuus, inquit, maledixit mihi.

more than half a century before the time of which he is speaking, not only for themselves, but unfortunately for their successors and their posterity; and had also so effectually united themselves with the civil government, that they became inseparable, although, alas! they could not indemnify us against the consequences of implicit faith.

Heylin is observed to "have written the history of the *five points*, in which he endeavours to shew that the church of England, though willing to tolerate the calvinists, yet hath always been of the opinion of the remonstrants." Heylin's endeavours were not wanting, but he was engaged in washing a black-moor white, and we need not add, that he was unsuccessful. But Whitby, with many others since his time, who have taken the scriptures alone for their authority, and written upon election, reprobation, and original sin, have confuted calvinism, as Jortin says "even to demonstration."

The concluding reflection, which immediately follows, is naturally suggested by the subject, and is so singularly just and striking,

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and does so much honor to the liberal and enlarged mind that dictated it, that I cannot resist the temptation to transcribe it. "He who is desirous to find religious truth, must seek her in the holy scriptures, interpreted by good sense and sober criticism, and embrace no theological systems any farther than as they are found consistent with the word of God, with right reason, and with themselves. A theological system is too often a temple consecrated to implicit faith, and he who enters in there to worship, instead of leaving his shoes, after the eastern manner, must leave his understanding at the door; and it will be well if he find it, when he comes out again."

The *third* Dissertation, on the "duty of judging candidly and favorably of others, and of human nature," has for its immediate subject the doctrine of charity as recommended by the apostle Paul, (1 Cor. xiii. 5.) *Charity—thinketh no evil.*

The general meaning of commentators upon this text, is admitted; in other words, it is agreed that christian "charity is not censorious,

censorious, that it thinketh favorably of others when there is room for it; and thinketh not hardly of them, unless manifest reason require it."

But, Mr. Bayle* having considered this amiable disposition inculcated by the gospel, rather as an injudicious weakness, than as a good quality, Dr. Jortin undertakes the particular consideration of his argument; and the service done to the cause of revelation is both acceptable and seasonable, inasmuch as the reasoning of the French philosopher is much admired and adopted by his disciples unto this very hour. Our author very fully and impartially states the objection of Bayle, uniting the fact objected to, and the argument produced in support of that objection, and analytically proceeds to the confutation of them. And as the objection is founded

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* " Bayle," as Jortin observes in the former Dissertation, p. 109. " in his disputes against the wisdom and the goodness of God, being pushed by his antagonists, and compelled to declare what sort of a christian he pretended to be, professed himself a predestinarian protestant of the most rigid sort; but no protestant of any denomination ever was simple enough to believe him."

in the most debasing, as well as false, notions of mankind, Dr. Jortin vindicates the dignity of human nature, from the state of the fact, and from the motives which may be supposed to influence the human mind.

The sceptics on this question, like the jaundiced eye, are apt to see things through a disfiguring medium. "As they have commonly no good opinion of God, so have they no favorable opinion of men; in short, some of them," says even our candid dissertator, "have no esteem for themselves, and finding little moral honesty at home, in their own breasts, they are willing to suppose the rest of the world to be no better."

Before the *fourth* Dissertation on "the love of praise and reputation, and the proper bounds and degree of that love,"—is placed a text from the apostle John, (xii. 43.) *For they loved the praise of men, more than the praise of God.*

An unreasonable deference to the opinion and praise of men continues to this day a sad hindrance to the free and full declaration of faith in Christ, as it was with the greater
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part of the jews in our lord's time. But these persons are not here condemned because they loved the praise of men, but because they loved it more than the praise of God.

The subject is therefore divided ; and it is observed and shewn, that we may love the praise of men in a certain degree ; but that our love of it should be moderate.

"The love of praise," says he "seems to be natural to us, and a part of self-love. We love ourselves ; we desire therefore that others should esteem us, should think and speak well of us ; we seem to multiply ourselves by having a place in the thoughts of so many persons, and to triumph in some manner over our *last enemy*, when our name survives with honor after we are gone hence.

"This general love of praise manifestly tends to the good of society. This passion encouraged in all polite nations hath been one of the great springs and principles of useful and commendable actions both in the subject and in the magistrate. The desire of

reputation hath taught men to despise danger and to expose their lives for the public, to undergo labor and fatigue, to study incessantly, to deny themselves many pleasures ; it hath made them desirous of surpassing even the best and the most eminent. The love of reputation is necessarily attended with the fear of disgrace and contempt, and the fear of disgrace hath restrained some persons from base and dishonest actions, when no other tie would hold them, and religion itself was insufficient for that purpose.

“ Thus hath this passion often proved advantageous to civil society ; for it has allured men to do those actions willingly and chearfully which are never so well performed when they arise from compulsion ; it has had an influence upon them when other motives would have failed, when there was no recompense to be expected, when their services were repaid with ingratitude. The honor which men have pursued so eagerly cost the public little or nothing, and yet hath been more valued than riches by those who acquired it. A picture, an inscription, a spear,

ſpear, a crown of oak or of laurel, a ſtatue, a public commendation,—for ſuch recompences men have affronted dangers, and loſt their lives. They who love to ſet things in the leaſt favorable light, may compare theſe heroes to the ſavages often mentioned in books of voyages, who exchange ſheep and oxen for a few beads and ribbands, or a bit of a looking-glaſs.”

The eſſential advantages of character are ſtrongly and juſtly marked. “ Reputation,” ſays he “ ſometimes brings with it ſeveral real advantages, and is more valuable to us in the effects which it produces, than it is in itſelf. A good character may ſerve to many uſeful purpoſes. It may raiſe us up friends, it may help us to acquire what is neceſſary for our ſupport in life, it may enable us to do ſervice to the unfortunate and the deſerving, by giving us credit and weight amongſt thoſe with whom we con- verſe; our example by being obſerved may incite others to imitate us; our reputation may be profitable to our poſterity; it may be both an advantage and an honor to them to

have descended from us, and for our sake they may meet with kindness.

“ We may observe farther in behalf of reputation, that to esteem it seems to argue a good temper and a benevolent disposition towards mankind. We pay respect and civility to our fellow creatures when we desire their approbation, and take some pains to acquire and preserve it, and set some value upon it. It is a sign that we honor them, when we are willing that they should honor us. On the contrary, they who slight reputation are usually persons who have no desire of excelling, no industry, no shame, and whom it would be no credit to resemble.”

After this apology for, or vindication of, a reasonable love of fame, it seemed necessary to account for the contrary sentiment, so far as it has been maintained by respectable authorities. And Dr. Jortin is not one of those light infantry men, who slip beside a difficulty which stands so directly in the front against them.

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“ It must be acknowledged,” he owns, “ that there have been philosophers, wise and virtuous men, recorded in history, who have professed a great contempt for the praise and good opinion of others.” But apprehends “ their meaning was, that a man should persist in his duty, and despise the censures of the ignorant and vicious multitude: or by condemning the love of praise they intended to condemn an immoderate love of it, and a slavish regard to it in all our actions: or they had, amongst many good qualities, a little pride and singularity, they despised too much the bulk of mankind, and therefore desired not their approbation: or perhaps they expected to be admired on that very account, and to find esteem by shunning it; as indeed it often happened to them, for reputation will fly from those who pursue her in an improper manner, and will pursue those who seem to fly from her, if they deserve her favor: lastly, they owned, that although the applause of the populace was of no value, yet the approbation of the wise and good was a thing desirable. These
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few persons excepted, the rest of the despisers of reputation have been such as had no reputation to keep or to lose."

The close of this part of the argument is well worth our notice, although it lengthens our extract beyond the usual proportion of the whole. "From these observations concerning praise we may conclude, that the love of it if it be not immoderate, and leads us into faults, is lawful; for since this love is natural to us, since the common interest requires that it should be encouraged, and those nations have flourished most, in which praise and honor have been judiciously bestowed and generally pursued,—since the possession of it may prove beneficial to ourselves and to our friends and to our posterity, and hurtful to none,—since a desire to stand fair in the opinion of others is a respect and civility paid to our acquaintance, to our fellow-citizens, and to human nature,—since a contempt of reputation appears blameable, and often proceeds from very bad causes,—since the holy scriptures condescend to comply with our inclinations for it, and permit us to seek it, and propose

propose it sometimes as an incitement to virtue,—since our lord conferred it as a reward upon a grateful and a generous action, (Matt. xxvi. 10---13.) it seems to follow that it may be ranked, if not amongst those things which strictly and truly deserve to be called good, yet, at least, amongst those things which are convenient, which may be in some degree esteemed, without any disgrace to our reason, or injury to our religion.”

These arguments are entitled to their proper weight, but will admit of such qualification as may correct an immoderate love of praise, and prevent our advancing from the use to the abuse of a passion, which may be made productive of much happiness.

“The love of reputation is” admitted to be “a passion, and as such that it may be carried to excess; but,” it is added, that “of all the passions it is perhaps the least apt to mislead us. A desire to be esteemed by good and worthy persons incites us to imitate those whose approbation we seek. The love of riches, the love of sensual pleasures, the love of idleness and of everlasting amusements,

amusements, the love of arbitrary power and dominion, these are the inordinate affections, and these the objects which seduce men from their duty, and from the way to eternal happiness; and they lose the race whilst they stoop to gather up these golden apples."

Under the second division of the subject, it is said, and said very justly, that "we must take care that our love of reputation be discrete and moderate, free from pride, affectation, vanity, forwardness, conceit, envy, detraction, and hypocrisy."

Even from reasons of good policy and expedience we must not love the praise of the world too much, because we may not be able to acquire it; because we may suffer in our reputation undeservedly, and ought to bare it patiently; because praise is often so ill bestowed, that even upon this account it is less valuable than it would else be; because it is almost impossible to enjoy reputation in its full extent; and because it may be hurtful to those who do possess it. For "in bad times, and when they who are in high stations are greatly corrupted, and wicked men

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bear rule, it is a dangerous thing to be beloved by the public, and to deserve it, and history will inform us of not a few who have suffered upon that account." Again, "we should not be too fond of reputation, because we may not only be disappointed and little esteemed, but God may permit in very kindness to us, and for our own benefit, either to chastise us for some faults which we have committed, and to mortify in us pride and vanity, or to keep from us a reward which would spoil our best dispositions." So likewise, "if by an excessive fondness of reputation we make it the principle and the end of our actions, it will certainly mislead us, and probably give us much uneasiness. There are duties which sometimes through the perverseness or ignorance of the public are out of fashion, and produce contempt or hatred. He who is greedy of applause will often neglect such duties, and fall into reputable vices; he will never have the courage and the greatness of mind to pursue what is right through good report and through evil report. This was the case in the time of our saviour. Many there
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were who believed on him, but because of the pharisees, they did not confess him, lest they should be put out of the synagogue; for they loved the praise of men more than the praise of God.

“ An excessive desire of praise, joined, as it often is, to a fear of ridicule, or to false notions of honor, hath done inconceivable mischief in the world. So also, he who hath his reputation principally in view, lies often under temptations to play the hypocrite, and to pretend that he possesses every excellence by which he sees others obtain honor. Hence, he indulges a passion which may destroy his peace, and quiet, and perhaps treasureth up to himself disappointment and uneasiness.

“ From the foregoing remarks, (which are abridged from our author,) we may make this conclusion, says he, that reputation may be numbered amongst the things which are desirable and advantageous. We may use all lawful means to acquire it, and to secure its continuance; and if we be careful and industrious in using the proper means, we have commonly a fair prospect of succeeding. The caprice

caprice of the great and powerful cannot deprive us of this reward at least. They can neither give it, nor take it away; and it is very well for the world that they cannot. The love of reputation, when directed by reason, is allowable; but reason must govern, and not be governed. Our love of it must be moderate: we must love it as a thing, which though pleasant and profitable, is precarious, attended with some inconveniences, not easily kept, and sometimes undeservedly lost, and, lastly, of no use to us beyond the grave. We whose continuance here is so short, are scarcely born for this world, or for any thing that this world can bestow. Our reputation we can enjoy no longer than whilst we live. A reputation after death, if it only begins then, is of small value; it is like a favorable wind after a shipwreck. When we go hence, what good can arise to our own persons from it? Here we must leave it, and here it will remain and survive for a greater or a lesser number of years, as time and chance shall determine.

“ Good actions are a treasure which we carry hence with us. If we are secure of these, it is

is no matter if the world be negligent of us, and we pass over our days unregarded, and posterity know not that ever we had a being. Our virtues are immortal, and true honor will be their recompense, an honor which we shall receive from God, from holy angels, and from just men made perfect, and which shall continue to all eternity. And this seems to suggest one reason for which we should have some taste, and entertain some value for reputation here, because reputation may be part of our reward hereafter."

"The history and the character of Balaam," constitute the subject of the *fifth* Dissertation, taking the text from Numbers xxii. 12. *And God said unto Balaam; thou shalt not go with them: thou shalt not curse the people, for they are blessed.*

The reason why our author undertook to explain and vindicate the history of Balaam, as recorded by Moses, which, as he justly says, is extraordinary in all its parts, was, because "it contains difficulties which have exercised the abilities, and divided the opinions of religious inquirers, it hath been matter of cavilling

cavilling and of sport to unbelievers, and it affords moral instruction of great importance and of general use."

The first question that is asked, is, How came Moses to the knowledge of these transactions? And Dr. Jortin answers, that as there is no intimation given, so there is no reason to imagine, that he had his knowledge by revelation. He had it then by information, which he might easily obtain concerning an event in his own time, and in the neighbourhood.

The fulfillment of the predictions of Balaam, leave no doubt of his being a prophet. He was a priest, and "seems also to have been a worshipper of the true God; he dwelt in Mesopotamia, by the river Euphrates, at a considerable distance from the Moabites. His reputation was great, and extended through the nations round about, and he was thought to have such interest in heaven, that whomsoever he blessed was blessed, and whomsoever he cursed, was cursed.

"The king of Moab, therefore, terrified at the approach of the Israelites, at the rapidity of their conquests, and at the destruction

of the warlike nations of the Amorites and of other people, consulted with his neighbours the Midianites, what they should do for their common safety. It was agreed upon that they should send an embassy to Balaam, and prevail with him, by the force of intreaties joined to the stronger force of the presents, to come and curse the Israelites in a religious and solemn manner."

All this was done agreeably to notions which then very generally prevailed, and which were practised afterwards by the Romans.

The application of the Moabites to Balaam to curse the Israelites was twice resisted by him, in a manner becoming a prophet and servant of God. Afterwards we read, *and God came to Balaam at night, and said, If the men come to tell thee, rise up, and go with them; but yet the word which I shall say unto thee, that thou shalt do.* So he went; *And God's anger was kindled because he went, and the angel of the Lord stood in the way for an adversary against him.*"—"Various solutions, and not improbable, says Jortin, have been offered to reconcile this account, that God should

should give him leave to go, and yet be offended at him because he went. But the angel of the Lord said to him afterwards, *I went out to withstand thee, because thy way is perverse before me.* Hence it may be inferred, that God was offended at him, not so much for his going, as for his going with bad views and for bad purposes."

The application from the Moabites being again renewed, it prevailed over his integrity; and he attempted to deserve the presents brought, and promises made by Balak, by sacrificing to God in the hope to prevail with him to let him undertake the proposed embassy. Failing in this scheme, he is represented to have proceeded further in iniquity, and to have "counsell'd the Midianites to send their women amongst them, to invite them to their religious solemnities, and to try to draw them into fornication and idolatry, by which they would forfeit the favor of God, and make him their enemy. The advice was followed, the experiment was made and succeeded so far that twenty and four thousand Israelites were cut off for their iniquity and apostacy."

“ To revenge this injury, the Israelites at the command of God, made war upon the Midianites and destroyed them; and having found Balaam among them, they put him to death also. And thus the evil overtook him, of which he seemed to have had a strong foreboding, when he cried out, in the midst of his prophecy, *Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his.* That is, May I be gathered to my fathers, at my own home, in peace, and in a good old age, which is the usual end and the reward of the righteous.”

Dr. Jortin next proceeds to consider the things which befel Balaam on his journey, and which must be confessed, says he, to contain in them no small difficulty. The angel appears in the way, the prophet sees him not, but the ass sees him, and endeavours to shun him, and hurts her master; Balaam is angry, and strikes the beast; the beast speaks with an human voice, and reasons and expostulates with him.”

The solution offered by our author is modestly stated only “as a conjecture, not forced, or improbable,

improbable, or irreligious, or contrary to the reverence which is due to the sacred writings. It is this; Balaam saw and did these things in a trance or vision; in such a vision as other prophets frequently had on other occasions."

Nor is it a new opinion, for, as he says, Maimonides, the learned jewish commentator, and, more lately, Le Clerc, have adopted it. And "such interpretation is a medium between the sentiments of those who take the affair to have been altogether real, or altogether visionary, and thinks it hath some advantages over both."*

That other prophets received information and instruction, in dreams, or trances and visions, he proves from the accounts given by Peter and Paul; and from some passages in Hosea, Jeremiah, Isaiah and Ezekiel: and adds, that, in a philosophical way, the literal interpretation is wholly inadmissible.

The circumstances in a history of this kind, short in itself, cannot well be abridged, without essential injury to the whole, for there is

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* Upon the case of Balaam see bishop Law's "Considerations," 5 edit. 1765, p. 74---76.

no superfluity, nothing to spare. The argument is ingenious, and has some advantages over both the other schemes.

The inferences which he draws from this history are judicious, and so much compressed that I will recite them. "It sets before us the infatuating power of ambition and covetousness, and the folly and danger of setting the affections on the transitory objects of this life, and of sacrificing religion and duty to dirty lucre, and to temporal advantages.

"Here is a man who had the honor to be a priest and a prophet; who had a great reputation in the world; who probably was not young, and had the less reason to be anxious about rewards, honors, and promotions; who seems to have been a worshipper of the true God, and not ignorant of the moral duties, but well apprised of the important truth, that to keep innocency and to do the thing that is right, will bring a man peace at the last; and that he who would die the death, must live the life of the righteous.

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"The devil,* in the form of money and preferment comes and tempts him, and he is in danger of yielding to the importunate seducer. But God hath compassion on him, and uses all the methods to save him that are proper to be applied to a free agent. He forbids him to go with the messengers, he assures him that his designs would not prosper; he sends an angel to meet him and to terrify him in the way; he compels him, instead of uttering curses, to pronounce blessings upon the Israelites, and to foretel the prosperity of that people and the destruction of their adversaries in such expressions as plainly shewed, at the same time, that happiness was the reward of piety and obedience, and that wickedness brought on misery and ended in ruin. But all these kind warnings and corrections were lost upon the prophet: vexed at his disappointment, blinded

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* The introduction of the devil, and the ascription of so much mischief to him, may be classed among the "ancient prejudices," of our author; but many persons continue to think with Jortin on this subject, and this is not the place to dispute the agency, much less the existence, of this supposed enemy of mankind.

by his passions, and deaf to the divine admonitions, he hardens himself still more, till at last he acts the part of the devil, and lays projects of seducing the Israelites from their allegiance to God, and then, instead of going home, he loiters amongst the devoted nations, till destruction overtakes him.

“ The world abounds with persons, who, like Balaam, are slaves to covetousness and ambition, and who resemble him more or less, according as these predominant vices are checked and counterbalanced more or less by religion and conscience.

“ Some of them are quite estranged from virtue, have dismissed all shame and remorse, all moral sense and discernment, and judge of good and evil by arithmetical rules of gain and loss.

“ Others are not so far gone : by the blessing of a proper education, and by a serious temper, they are confirmed in religious principles ; the fear of God and the fear of man restrain them from grosser enormities. Amongst these you shall find persons who have learning, knowledge, acuteness, dexterity

terity, and industry. But the love of money and of power lies lurking at the heart, and betrays itself from time to time in actions suitable to such mean motives, and miserable views. In many instances they are able to practise what is barely honest, but never can they do what is truly great.

“ The worst of all is, that these evil dispositions are seldom corrected, but length of time, which weakens the bodily powers, rather inflames than lessens the distempers of the soul. The man grows old, and his irregular passions remain young and lively; and this is most remarkably the case of avarice and rapaciousness, which survive the strength of the body and the abilities of the mind, subject to no decay, and cursed with immortality.

“ The gospel, though it makes favorable allowances to human infirmities, and accepts of humble repentance and honest endeavours, yet holds no fellowship and makes no composition and truce with the worldly and selfish affections; it requires of all those who would hope and expect a reward hereafter, to
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set their affections, not on things below, but on things above; that the heart and the treasure may be in the same place."

We are now come to the *sixth* Dissertation which was announced in the preface to be "rather of the philological kind, and intended for those who are somewhat conversant with the classic writers and with the learned languages." It professes to treat of "the state of the dead, as described by Homer and Virgil;" and proceeds to consider and state separately the sentiments of each. And as the representation here given of the latter of these poets involved some very singular consequences with certain classics of his time, we will, in its proper place, relate the offence given by Dr. Jortin, and the proceedings and judgment given against him by the court of his friend Dr. Warburton.

With respect to Homer, Dr. Jortin reprobates the notion of his having been the author of the theology and mythology contained in his poems, alledging that he "had sufficient excuse and authority for the fables which he delivered; and that he introduced
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into his poems, by way of machinery, and with some decorations, theological legends contrived in more rude and ignorant times, and sanctified by hoary age and venerable tradition.

“Whether Homer looked upon any of these theological tales as allegories, in which secret senses were couched under a fabulous appearance, he should not determine. Thus much is certain, that his scholiasts and commentators have ascribed to him many a subtle sense which never entered into his thoughts. Thus, amongst the moderns, father Harduin the father of paradoxes, hath proposed a conceit fantastical enough to be his own, but yet borrowed partly from others.”

So far from approving these conjectures, he pronounces Homer to be “a writer of great simplicity, and therefore that we may expect to find in him an account of the popular doctrines of Greece concerning the state of the dead, with a few poetical embellishments; I say, few, because the popular and the poetical religion seem in his days to have been nearly one and the same.”

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As our author has given his opinion of the comparative excellence of the two poems of the grecian bard, the sentiments of a scholar of such eminent critical judgment and classic taste, may be acceptable to many of my readers, though not immediately tending to resolve the inquiry proposed in the title of this dissertation. “ I have sometimes doubted a little,” says he, “ whether the *Odyſſea* were Homer’s, on account of some small difference, either real or imaginary, of style and syntax; but as antiquity hath generally ascribed both poems to him, I chuse to acquiesce in its determination, and should scruple to deprive the venerable father of the poets of any part of his property. The *Odyſſea* is by no means unworthy of him, and if the *Ilias* hath more dignity, majesty, correctness, fire, and spirit, the *Odyſſea* is more diverting and amusing, and abounds more with the comic, and less with the tragic. In one point it hath the advantage over the *Ilias*, that the reader interests himself in the fate and fortunes of the hero, and is glad to see him safe at home, and triumphant

phant over his enemies ; for the character of Ulysses, upon the whole, is insinuating, amiable, and respectable, and he is represented as a prince who ever ruled with justice and mercy, and was the common father to all his subjects. But in the Ilias, the hero is a boisterous, rapacious, mercenary, cruel, and unrelenting brute, and the reader pities none of his calamities, and is pleased with none of his successes."

The various notions of the human soul in fabulous story are almost infinite, and fanciful in the extreme ; many of them are cited by Jortin, but it would make nothing to our purpose to repeat them here. And yet our author observes, in a sort of summary of many detached citations, that " Homer wrote before the Greek philosophy was cultivated, and we find in his doctrine of the soul no metaphysical speculations, nothing concerning the immateriality of the soul, or its pre-existence, or its past eternity, or its transmigration, or its being a portion of the soul of the world, or of the deity.

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“ His notions of the soul seem not to be the result of reasonings upon the nature of God or man ; but the remains of an old tradition, delivered down, in all probability, from the beginning of the world, and spread through all nations. The ancient fable of Pluto, as Le Clerc somewhere observes, is a probable proof that, before the days of this son of Saturn, it was an opinion commonly received, that the souls of men, after death, went to subterraneous abodes.

“ His description of the dead is so uncomfortable, that it was not at all calculated to inspire, either courage or virtue ; but rather to make men paltrons, and knaves. Therefore the learned Greeks and the poets in the following times mended that part of his system, and gave more encouragement to valour, to probity, and to piety.

“ And yet, even in Homer's gloomy system, the souls in the state of separation seem in some few respects to approach rather nearer to the divine nature than they did when they inhabited the body. They move with the swiftness of a deity, and they sub-

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sist and act and converse without standing in need of raiment, food, drink, or sleep. The substance also of which the soul is composed seems to be like that of the gods, and to partake of immortality."

With regard to Homer's general description of the state of the dead, the account closes with the following judicious reflections. "It gives us pleasure to trace in this most ancient poet, the important doctrines of a supreme God, a providence, a free agency in man, supposed to be consistent with fate, or destiny, or prescience, a difference between moral good and evil, inferior gods, or angels in the jewish and christian system, some favourable to men, others malevolent, and the immortality of the soul: but it gives us pain to find these notions so miserably corrupted, that they must have had a very weak influence, to excite men to virtue, and to deter them from vice."

The account which the dissertator gives of VIRGIL, opens with the following general introduction: "Homer having sent Ulysses to the regions of the dead, to raise the ghost
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of Tiresias, and to consult with him how he should settle his domestic affairs and overcome his enemies, Virgil imitates his great master, and sends Æneas to the infernal regions on much the same errand, to advise with his father Anchises; and upon this plan he hath contrived the sixth book, which is the most resplendent part of the Æneis; for if Virgil any where surpasseth Homer, it is here. Here he hath also given a more elegant and poetical account of the state of the dead, by adopting in some measure the pythagorean and the platonic philosophy.

“ Every one knoweth that the Æneis was not completed to the author's satisfaction, and that he wanted much to destroy it. The sixth book is more finished than some of the rest, and is beautiful in the parts, but upon the whole, it is obscure, a fault from which Virgil is by no means free; and he who shall try the experiment, will find it hard enough to make out of it a system tolerably consistent, and to ascertain the sense of the author in some places.

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“ Here then is a field open for criticism, and all of us who attempt to explain and illustrate Virgil, have reason to hope that we may make some discoveries, and to fear that we may fall into some mistakes; and this should induce us to conjecture with freedom, to propose with diffidence, and to dissent with civility.

“ Virgil is a great borrower, and hath collected from ancient poets and philosophers whatsoever suited his purpose. As to his mythology, he had a right to take it from his predecessors, and is sufficiently justified by their authority in the use of poetical fables delivered by tradition, or of new fictions bearing a due resemblance to the ancient ones.”

With respect to the doctrine of a future state, our author first recites the notions of Plato and then those of Virgil.

“ According to Plato,” says he, “ the greater part of human souls descend after death, to the Acherusian lake, where they remain, some for a longer and some for a lesser time, and then are sent into new bodies.

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“ When the shades are carried, each to the place where the daemon conducts them, then the good and the bad take their trial: and they who have behaved themselves neither very well, nor very ill, go to Acheron, and there undergo purgations.

“ The incurably wicked are cast into Tartarus, whence they never are to be released. They who have been wicked, but not to so great a degree, are also cast into Tartarus, and let out, and cast in again; and so on, till they have made their peace with those whom they have injured.

“ The souls which have been eminently good, when they are released from this life, ascend up to the pure regions of the air, and will never more be re-united to a body, but continue in peace and happiness to all eternity.

“ This is the doctrine delivered in the *Phædo*.

“ Virgil's regions of the dead may be thus divided. There is,

1. “ A state of exclusion, on the borders of the infernal realms, for the unburied.

2. “ A state

2. " A state of introduction, where are placed those who had shortened their days, or had not lived out their appointed time, according to the common course of nature. In this are the apartments of the infants, the unjustly condemned, the self-murderers, the lovers, and the warriors.

3. " A state of purgatory, which Æneas did not see, nor was it proper that he should enter there to disturb the penitents, whilst they were undergoing their purifications. Whether this purgatory were in Tartarus or not, the poet hath not told us : but it seems to have been distinct from it.

4. " A state of punishment in Tartarus, which also Æneas did not see.

5. " A state of recompence and of happiness in Elysium.

As we shall have occasion, before we close the present chapter, to chronicle the offence taken by the master and scholars of the Warburtonian school, we will previously recite the peculiarly reprehensible paragraphs for which our author was charged with high crimes and misdemeanors.

“Virgil,” says Dr. Jortin, “hath placed in the infernal regions the souls of infants weeping and wailing. It is an ingenious conjecture proposed in the *Divine Legation*, that the poet might design to discountenance the cursed practice of exposing and murdering infants. It might be added, that Virgil had perhaps also in view to please Augustus, who was desirous of encouraging matrimony, and the education of children, and extremely intent upon repeopling Italy, which had been exhausted by the civil wars. But if these infants were to be left in this lamentable state for all eternity, the poet’s system would be horribly shocking, and only fit for a supralapsarian professor. How long then were they to weep and wail? Perhaps, as long as they ought to have lived upon earth, according to the common course of nature. After this period we may suppose that they took a small sip of the Lethean water, and were sent into new bodies.

Again: “That the subterraneous adventures of Æneas were intended by Virgil to represent the *initiation* of his hero, is an elegant

gant conjecture, which hath been laid before the public, and set forth to the best advantage, by a learned friend."

And a few pages afterwards he says, "Let us suppose that Virgil by the descent of Æneas intended to represent his *initiation*, still the troublesome conclusion remains as it was, and from the manner in which the hero is dismissed after the ceremonies, we learn that in those initiations the machinery and the whole shew was, (in the poet's opinion) a representation of things which had no truth and reality."

Dr. Jortin emphatically observes, that "Virgil, after having shone out with full splendor through the sixth book, sets in a cloud. He first represents the state of departed souls in Aïdes as a reality, and this he was obliged to do by the very nature of his subject, and then he intimates that the whole is a lying fable, and he intimates it in such a manner, that it seems scarcely possible to clear him from this imputation.

"Virgil drew up a poetical description of the infernal regions, upon the commonly

received notions of posthumous rewards and punishments. His system might pass on still as true or probable in the main, and might have its use and influence, such as it was, though he thought fit to intimate at the same time that he himself was of another school."

Our author afterwards offers some probable reasons for this conduct in the poet; first, "Why Virgil intimated that the descent of Æneas was not real? And, secondly, Why he intimated, that all which had been related by him concerning the state of the dead and the infernal regions was fiction and falsehood?"

"It would make one smile," as our good natured critic very pertinently observes, "to see poetical divines wonderfully tender and candid in their judgments of Virgil's philosophical and theological principles, looking upon him as upon a devout and religious creature, one who was honored with glimpses of the glad tidings of salvation, and a kind of *minor prophet*. Yet I would not willingly
censure

censure them; for after all, a man can have no more judgment than falls to his share; and besides, it seems to be an error on the right side, a good natured mistake, an innocent simplicity which thinketh no evil."

The following remark closes the dissertation and volume now before us. "Hence it appears, that the learned age of Augustus, with all its polite advantages, was sadly corrupted in matters of religion; that the Epicurean doctrine had spread itself through the Roman empire, and that persons of the brightest abilities and highest stations being unhappily infected with it, were men of that FIRST PHILOSOPHY, which in a christian country, and in the eighteenth century, hath been publicly recommended to us by patriots and geniuses, compared with whom Epicurus was a gentleman, a philosopher, a reasoner, and a scholar.

"Such was the state of the world in the days of Augustus and of Virgil. A plain proof how much it stood in need of that divine teacher, that SUN OF RIGHTEOUSNESS,

who, to dispel those gloomy clouds, arose with salvation in his rays !”*

We must now allow ourselves a little time to recapitulate some circumstances relating to the former friendship between doctors Warburton and Jortin, and the interruption it suffered from the publication of the preceding dissertation.

Dr.

* In the *Journal Britannique* published at the Hague, vol. xvii. mois de Nov. et de Déc. 1755, p. 374. is an account of the “Six Dissertations” now before us and their author, which is well worth reciting. I transcribe the following translation of it from the advertisement prefixed to a volume of the “*Tracts philological, &c.*” published 1790, p. xiii.—“The author of these Dissertations,” says the journalist, “is a man equally distinguished for science and virtue. Of the highest class in literature, his unstudied regard for words is solely proportioned to their consequence, as as they stand in connection with his subject, and conduce to the knowledge of things. Perfectly familiarized to ancient writers; and deep in the researches of antiquity, he never seeks to raise himself on the depression of the times in which he lives, by giving an undue preference to those which have gone before him. His sacred profession naturally disposed him to consult the instruction of others; and to effect this, he presents to them a religion, simple in its appearance, and calculated to render them happy in existence here,

Dr. Warburton's Having obtruded some extravagant and chimerical notes of his own upon the Visions of Rice Evans, as an appendix to the first volume of Jortin's "Remarks on ecclesiastical history," has been noticed before,* as also the severe but merited reproof he received from the author of "Confusion worse confounded."

When here, and prepared for their great change. He is more solicitous to investigate truth than to fabricate novelty; and, as being unshackled by any system, he aims not at singularity; seldom leads you to expect demonstration; and when he does, is sure to fulfil his engagements. In disposition equally modest and temperate, he does not make it his boast to depreciate either those who run with him in the same course, or those who think differently from him. From these outlines, dictated by my own heart, confirmed by the public voice, and sanctioned by a prelate of universal esteem amongst men of worth and letters, few readers, in Britain at least, can fail to anticipate the name of DOCTOR JORTIN."—Thus far the journalist, who, if I am not mistaken was Dr. Maty of the British Museum, father of the late rev. Henry Maty. When he states Dr. Jortin to be "unshackled by any system," he must have forgotten that the liberal protestantism of the church of England, requires that its clergy shall first subscribe,—then inquire,—and afterwards dissent at their peril. No man under such subscription can be said to be "unshackled by any system."

* See p. 88. and seq.

When Dr. Jortin was prevailed upon to accept of Dr. Warburton's hand, he very unfortunately joined him in a compliment paid to bishop Pearce.*

Dr. Warburton had anticipated the expectations of the public in favor of Dr. Jortin before his "Remarks" were given to the world, by telling them, that "they were composed like his life, not in the spirit of controversy, nor, what is still worse, of party, but of truth and candor."†

The author of the "Divine Legation of Moses demonstrated," had, it seems, given a visionary account of Æneas's descent into hell, and his return from thence, saying that the scenery of what passed in the shades described by Virgil had reference to the Eleusinian mysteries.

This was questioned by Dr. Jortin in his sixth dissertation, who was so far from agreeing with Dr. Warburton's account, that he gave an interpretation totally inconsistent with it, but without any reflection upon his friend,

* See Appendix to first vol. of Remarks, p. 377 and 378.

† Julian, 2d. edit. p. 316. note.

friend, as may be seen from the foregoing extracts. This, however, being considered by Dr. Warburton, or some of his disciples, as an inimical attack upon his system, Dr. Jortin was addressed in a small pamphlet, entitled, "On the delicacy of friendship. A seventh dissertation, addressed to the author of the sixth."

This pamphlet was epitomized in certain "Remarks on Dr. Warburton's account of the sentiments of the early jews, concerning the soul, published in 1757, which considers the "Delicacy of friendship" as laying down rules for all who dissented from Dr. Warburton,—“thus at least (says the writer) stands the decree, translated out of *attic irony* into *plain english*, prescribing our demeanour towards this sovereign in the republic of letters, as we find it promulged and bearing date at the palace of Lincoln's Inn, Nov. 25, 1755.

1. "You must not write on the same subject that he does.

2. "You must not write against him.

3. "You must not glance at his arguments

ments even without naming him, or so much as referring to him.

4. " You must not oppose his principles, though you let his arguments quite alone.

5. " If you find his reasonings ever so faulty, you must not presume to furnish him with better of your own, even though you approve and are desirous to support his conclusions.

6. " You must not pretend to help forward any of his arguments that happen to fall lame, and may seem to require your needful support.

7. " When you design him a compliment, you must express it in full form, and with all the circumstance of panegyrical approbation, without impertinently qualifying your civilities by assigning a reason why you think he deserves them; as this might possibly be taken for a hint that you know something of the matter he is writing about as well as himself.

8. " You must never call any of his discoveries by the name of *conjectures*, though you allow them their full proportion of elegance,

gance, learning, &c. for you ought to know that this capital genius never proposed any thing to the judgment of the public, (though ever so new and uncommon) with diffidence in his life."*

Dr. Jortin does not appear to have taken any notice of this tract, nor any further notice of Dr. Warburton than incidentally in his "Life of Erasmus," where he corrects a misinterpretation of a passage in Cicero, by the colossal critic, which was committing a second offence instead of asking pardon for the first.†

Dr. Warburton having occasion to cite Cicero's opinion of Plato—*qui PRINCIPES de republica*

* See "Remarks on Dr. Warburton," p. 3 and 4.

† For the misinterpretation of the passage in Cicero see *Div. Leg.* vol. i. p. 184, note f. the fifth edition; and for the correction of it see the "Life of Erasmus," vol. i. p. 552 -- 554, note (d). When Dr. Salter shewed several passages in the Life of Erasmus to archbishop Secker, which were supposed to *squint* at Dr. Warburton, his grace was disposed, or affected, to doubt concerning most of them, but when they came to this note on the use of the words *primus* and *princeps*, the archbishop immediately saw that it was designed for Dr. Warburton. This from a friend.

republica conscripsit, he very unfortunately rendered the words, Plato,—*who wrote BEST of a republic*. The biographer of Erasmus happening in his turn, to meet with the word “*princeps*” in one of the epistles of his author, takes occasion to do justice to the passage in Cicero, which had been thus misrepresented; when, without ever naming the stumbling critic, he closes his observations with a citation from Terence, which he considered as likely to suit him better than the solitary passage from Virgil,* which he had cited in his own vindication;

Est genus hominum, qui esse primos se omnium rerum volunt,

Nec sunt.

Eunuch ii. 11. 17.

Where *primus*, says he, certainly and undeniably means *summus, præcipuus*.

But this is not the only place where Dr. Jortin may be supposed to have had Dr. Warburton in his thoughts. He cannot be presumed so soon to have forgotten that he had

* ————*veterisque memor Saturnia belli,*

Prima quod ad Trojam pro charis gesserat Argis.

Æn. i. 27.

had been baited by the retainers of this chieftain, when he tells us that Aleander, after he was exalted to high stations, had *wranglers* under him, whom he could set at Erasmus; though the laws of the church forbid ecclesiastics *alere canes venaticos*. It would be happy, as he had before observed, "if wrangling geniuses would copy from the examples of Faber and Erasmus, and consider a little, how all men of sense and manners applaud such moderation, and how they abhor and despise those, who having begun to quarrel, perhaps, upon mere baubles, never end their contests and animosities, till death comes and puts them to silence."

But Warburton, like Wolsey, was not one of those, who have so happy a memory, as to "forget nothing besides discourtesies." We have indeed heard him talk of his own mildness and temper, but in this, like Luther, when he set himself about his work, "he forgot these promises; and his zeal and impetuosity were two hard-mouthed [and oftentimes foul-mouthed,] horses, which run away with the chariot and the charioteer." It
has

has been this insolent and overbearing temper in ecclesiastics, which gave occasion to even one of the popes to observe, "that it was safer to quarrel with a prince, than with a friar."

Bembus, in his "History of Venice, had written *apud inferos pæna*, which Jortin translated *the pains of hell*.* He afterwards took the following notice of Dr. Warburton's corrected version of that expression:—"I am obliged to Dr. Warburton, says he, (who since I wrote this note is bishop of Gloucester) for having reminded me that it should rather be *the pains of purgatory*. I might plead, that our English word *hell* is, lax enough to answer to *infern*, or to all the supposed districts of the *infernal regions*.—But I had rather own that his version is more accurate than mine, and take this opportunity to return him my thanks, and to repay civility with civility."†

In the "adversaria" of our author, the following memorandum is found, which shews that he did not oppose the notions of other men from any spirit of envy or opposition, but

* See "Life of Erasmus," vol. i. p. 114. l. 5.

† Ib. vol. ii. appendix, p. 712.

but from a full persuasion that the real matter of fact was as he had represented it. "I have examined," says he, "the state of the dead as described by Homer and Virgil, and upon that Dissertation I am willing to stake all the little credit I have as a critic and a philologist. I have there observed, that Homer was not the inventor of the fabulous histories of the gods: he had those stories, and also the doctrine of a future state, from old traditions. Many notions of the pagans, which came from tradition, are considered by Barrow, Sermon iii. vol. ii. in which sermon the existence of God is proved from universal consent. See also Bibl. Chois. i. 356, and Bibl. Univ. iv. 433."*

With respect to the essayist "on the Delicacy of friendship," it is probable he was not out of Dr. Jortin's remembrance when he was writing another note in his "Life of Erasmus," which closes with a short passage from Apollonius Tyanensis.†

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* See Dr. Heathcote's account of Dr. Jortin prefixed to his "Sermons," p. vi. and vii.

† See "Life of Erasmus," vol. i. p. 603 and 604, note f.

It may indeed be conjectured that the same essayist was present to his imagination, when he said "to be misrepresented, as a pedant and a dunce, this is no great matter; for time and truth put folly to flight: to be accused of heresy by bigots, hypocrites, politicians, and infidels, this is a serious affair; as they know too well, who have had the misfortune to feel the effects of it. *"

Some few months after the death of Dr. Jortin, a writer in the St. James's Chronicle, who signed himself, *ÆACUS*, stated some things in the literary history of Dr. Jortin, and among others, that "a want of delicacy was objected to Jortin. All the world laughed at the conceit, and Jortin himself was surprised into a grin. How comes it, John, said a friend of his, that you should have the reputation of less delicacy than the broker? ---I'll tell you, says the doctor, Rambling one day into the environs of the zodiac, instead of making my bow and my speech, I happened to turn my posteriors upon *URSA MAJOR*"†.

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* "Life of Erasmus," vol. i. p. 599 and 600.

† See "A collection of letters and essays in favor of public liberty." 12mo. 1774. vol. iii. p. 263 and 264.

It is now well known that Dr. Hurd, the present bishop of Worcester, was the writer of the dissertation on the delicacy of friendship; but as Dr. Warburton speaks of it with such unbounded praise, in a letter to Dr. Lowth*, he has so far made it his own, that his name deserves to share in the reprobation with which the learned world received this disgusting morsel, and which even its author has, though without success, endeavoured to suppress.

In the course of a few years this same dissertation on the delicacy of friendship, by some means or other, became scarce. It was only occasionally to be seen in "the corner of a catalogue," or "caught skulking upon

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* "I not only hold myself highly honoured, and obliged to him for this mark of his good will towards me, but think the discourse very serviceable to men of letters, if they would condescend to make a proper use of it. He tries in the finest irony in the world, to shame them out of that detestable turn of mind, which either out of low envy, or out of mean and base apprehensions dare not do it, for fear of its being unacceptable to their superiors." Warburton's Letter to Lowth, dated Sept. 17, 1756. See "Tracts by Warburton and Warburtonian." p. 198.

the shelf of a collector *." We owe, however, to a subsequent editor the reproduction of this, with other curiosities of the Warburtonian school, illustrated and illuminated with a dedication, two prefaces; and sundry notes, which will preserve from oblivion these rare productions of bishops Warburton and Hurd. The title of this combined publication is, "Tracts by Warburton, and a Warburtonian; not admitted into the collections of their works:" printed 1789.

* See "Dedication of the two tracts of a Warburtonian."

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CHAPTER

CHAPTER VI.

Publishes his "Life of Erasmus." 1758—1760.

Dr. Jortin published the first volume of his "Life of Erasmus," in quarto, in the year 1758; and by the publication of the second volume in 1760, he completed a work which, from the subject of it, "extended his reputation beyond the limits of his native country, and established his literary character in the remotest universities of Europe *"

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* See Knox's Remarks on the Life and writings of Dr. Jortin, in his "Essays moral and literary," vol. i. Essay xviii. the *second* edition, 1779.---where he adds, "Erasmus had long been an object of universal admiration, and it is matter of surprise, that his life had never been written with accuracy and judgment. This task was reserved for Dr. Jortin, and the avidity with which the work was received by the learned, is a proof of the merit of the execution. It abounds with matter interesting to the scholar; but the style and method are such as will not please every reader. There is a carelessness in it, and a want of dignity and delicacy." The whole of what is cited both in the text and note from the essays above referred to, is omitted in the later editions of them.

“ The Life of no author is better calculated to interest our curiosity than that of Erasmus. He lived at the first dawning of literature, and was himself one of the principal lights which dispelled that gloom of ignorance and barbarism, which had overspread the world for so many ages. There is also some variety in the events of his life, which was more diversified than the lives of literary men commonly are; and there is the same variety in his character, that is found in his fortune: he was a genius as well as a profound scholar; and a man of wit and humour, as well as an able divine.”*

“ The celebrated Le Clerc, whilst he was concerned in publishing an edition of the works of Erasmus at Leyden, in ten volumes folio, drew up his life in French, collected principally from his letters, and inserted it in the *Bibliothèque Choisie*; and had the pleasure to find that it was favorably received by the public.” And Dr. Jortin tells us further, in his preface, that “ it is so performed,

* See “ Annual Register” for 1758, p. 463.

performed, in the main, that he could not hope to do it in a better manner, and was not inclined to do it in another manner. It is therefore taken, as a ground work to build upon, and is translated, not superstitiously and closely, but with much freedom, and with more attention to things than to words. He found Le Clerc's way of thinking and judging, for the most part, correspondent with his own; and seldom had occasion to declare a dissent from him. But at the same time, continual additions are made, not only with relation to the history of those days, but to the life of Erasmus, especially where Le Clerc grew more remiss, either wearied with the task, or called off from these to other labours. At first it was intended to distinguish his property from the rest; but it soon appeared that the thing was hardly practicable, and quite needless."*

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* See Preface to the "Life of Erasmus," p. iii. where our author makes an apology to his English readers, for the large quantity of *latin* distributed up and down in the notes. They are told, that, "the substance of these passages is sometimes

" The work before us being thus the joint produce of two very learned and very ingenious men, it is no wonder that it exhibits so ample a stock of materials, or that it

is sometimes to be found in the text ; that sometimes it is not possible to translate them, without depriving them of their spirit and beauty ; that if they were translated, they would be of small service to persons not versed in classical literature ; and, in short, that I sometimes use this variety and mixture, to please my own taste, be it good or bad. As I have endeavoured, says he, in the greater part of this book, to give english readers instruction and entertainment, they must also give me leave to have more extensive views, and to write for the learned, and for students, who, if they carefully peruse these citations, will have some obligation to me, and find their time and pains well employed." Preface, p. iv. and v.—" The notes, indeed, contain abundance of curious matter," says the writer of the Monthly Review, " and the many corrections and emendations which Dr. Jortin has made in the passages he has quoted, are instances of the strictest attention, and proofs of his critical knowledge of the latin tongue. And as the author hath, in his notes, given ample testimony of his learning, he has likewise made his good sense and judgment conspicuous in the text, by the sensible and judicious reflections interspersed throughout the body of the work ; which he hath, moreover, embellished with some memorable historical passages, and entertaining anecdotes." Vol. xix. p. 387 and 392.

is executed with uncommon diligence, skill, and accuracy." It has, however, been justly observed, that by disposing his facts and observations in the form of annals, Dr. Jortin "has rendered the narration broken and tedious;" and his digressions, have also occasioned a want of perspicuity in some parts of his performance. These digressions, indeed, are so frequent, and of such a nature, that his compilation may not improperly be termed an epitome of the lives of all the eminent men, in whatever branch of literature, who adorned part of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; and upon the whole, "as the work now stands, it may rather be considered as an excellent collection of materials for the life of Erasmus, than the history of it."*

The work is divided into, three books. The first volume contains only book I. which is entitled "The life of Erasmus." The second volume contains book II, "Remarks upon the works of Erasmus;" and book

* See "Annual Register" for 1758, p. 463. and "Monthly Review" vol. xix.

book III, " Appendix, containing extracts from Erasmus and from other writers."

Before the " Remarks upon the works of Erasmus," there is prefixed some account of the judgments which learned men have passed upon him; and Dr. Jortin has also given a very copious account of the Leyden edition of Erasmus's works, published by Le Clerc, together with the prefaces and remarks of that celebrated writer. The pieces inserted in the appendix are, for the most part, composed by Erasmus: they are also generally upon interesting and entertaining subjects, and tend to illustrate some circumstance in his life. There are likewise added letters to and from Erasmus, together with several letters which passed between other people, in which mention is made of Erasmus or his writings. The reader is also presented with the will of this extraordinary person; and at the end of each volume there are plates, containing specimens of the handwriting of Erasmus, Luther Melancthon, Oecolampadius, Bullinger, Bucer, Calvin, and other celebrated men.

But

But the incidents in the life of Erasmus, though in some respects disadvantageously conducted, are not detailed without observation. The author hath interspersed many valuable remarks, which are made with such pointed force to certain circumstances which remained the same in his own time, as in the days of Erasmus, that he hath deeply interested his contemporaries of his own country; and, indeed, until the scene of things which concern our Zion shall be changed, they will continue to interest every succeeding generation of protestants.

“Many were the bitter pills which Jortin administered to the great churchmen, in his Life of Erasmus,” says an able, but anonymous, writer, “which however handsomely gilded, stuck in their throats and raised their stomachs; and had their hands been at liberty, *facti essent pugiles, et medicum urfissent*. A number of boobies and bigots are there whipped upon the backs of the opposers of Erasmus and Luther; and there were not wanting men of more assurance and less scrupulosity to make the application.”*

Erasmus

* See “A collection of Letters and Essays in favor of public liberty,” vol. iii. p. 261.

Erasmus was, without doubt, an eminent light in his time, and the restorer of learning; he was also the forerunner of Luther, by leading men to the free use of their bibles, to a general rational interpretation of the scriptures, and to a more tolerant spirit, rather than by any bold or decisive personal efforts. The monks used to say, "Erasmus laid the egg, and Luther hatched it." And, indeed, on this point, observes Dr. Jortin, they judged not amiss, nor with their accustomed *sniffery*, if we may be permitted to use that word. But this, Erasmus considered, in one of his letters, only as a joke of the minorite brethren, for which they deserve to be complimented as wits; for, concludes he, I laid an hen egg, but Luther hatched a very different bird.

It is certain that no part of the intrepid and daring spirit of Luther, who had as much courage as Alexander and Julius Cæsar put together, was natural to Erasmus, or could be acquired by him. He was, however, as ingenuous as father Paul in avowing his timidity, by declaring that he had not the

the fortitude necessary for martyrdom.* His temper was mild, and his disposition led him to cultivate learning in peace; he laboured to serve the cause of truth, more by patient investigation, and the effusions of wit, than by any open declaration of his sentiments, or any active and vigorous support of them. His apprehension from temporary disturbances, superseded, even in his enlightened mind, his affection for the interests of truth.

For

* "Let others," says Erasmus, "affect martyrdom; for my part, I hold myself unworthy of that honor." (vol. i. p. 235, and vol. ii. p. 56.) In another letter, to Pace, dean of St. Paul's, he says, "Wherein could I have assisted Luther, if I had declared myself for him, and shared the danger along with him? Only thus far, that instead of one man, two would have perished. I cannot conceive what he means by writing with such spirit: one thing I know too well, that he hath brought a great odium upon the lovers of literature. It is true, that he hath given us many a wholesome doctrine, and many a good counsel; and I wish he had not defeated the effect of them by his intolerable spirit. But if he had written in the most unexceptionable manner, I had no inclination to die for the sake of the truth. Every man hath not the courage requisite to make a martyr; and I am afraid, that if I were put to the trial, I should imitate St. Peter." Vol. i. p. 273, and vol. ii. p. 56.

“ For my part,” says he on one occasion, “ I think that any thing is to be endured, rather than to raise pernicious disturbances; and that it may be a part of true piety to conceal the truth, so as neither to utter it in every place, nor in every time, nor before every person, nor freely and without reserve, and at all adventures.”

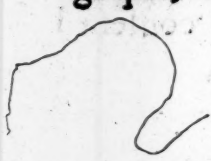
“ We will not deny the truth of these maxims in general,” says Dr. Jortin, “ but the difficulty consists in applying them to particular cases. Erasmus himself, with all his caution and prudence, was openly accused by the monks of having violated all these general maxims.” And besides,” says our author, “ divisions and schisms are doubtless a grievous calamity in christendom; and yet it is better, upon the whole, that the church should be thus disunited, and split into five, or into five hundred sects, than that it should be uniformly subject to so cruel a tyranny, and united only in the bond of ignorance, or of hypocrisy. Under such a head, or such a government, every rational inquiry would be checked and suppressed; but

but now truth and liberty prevail, sometimes in one place, and sometimes in another, and are not entirely driven out of the christian world."

Again; " Truth," says Erasmus, " is efficacious and invincible, but it must be dispensed with evangelical prudence. For myself, I so abhor divisions, and so love concord, that, I fear, if an occasion presented itself, I should sooner give up a part of truth, than disturb the public peace."

Upon this, his biographer very justly observes,—“ but the mischief is, that a man cannot thus give up truth, without running into falsehood, and assenting to things which he doth not believe. For a man cannot judge that to be right, which his own reason pronounces to be false, only because overbearing persons attack the truth with more vehemence than he chuseth to employ in defence of it, and are the majority and the stronger party. Besides, when such enemies to reason and to religion perceive that a man will not have the courage to defend his opinions at all extremities, which Erasmus confessed

confessed to be his own disposition, they
 never fail to take advantage of him, to op-
 press him, and to run him down, well
 knowing that nothing is necessary to accom-
 plish their purpose besides stubbornness, cla-
 mour, impudence, and violence. And so
 spiritual tyranny being once erected, would
 endure for ever, and gain strength and stabi-
 lity. Concord and peace are unquestionably
 valuable blessings; but yet not to be pur-
 chased at the expence of truth and liberty,
 which are infinitely more estimable than a
 sordid tranquillity beneath the yoke of fal-
 hood and arbitrary dominion. Beneath this
 yoke the christian republic becomes a mere
 faction of paltrons, solicitous about enjoy-
 ing the present, and neglecting every thing
 that is laudable, under the pretext of preserv-
 ing the peace. Such would have been the
 present state of christianity, if the pacific
 scheme of Erasmus had been received and
 pursued. Divisions, it must be owned, do
 much harm; yet they have at least pro-
 duced much good, that the truth of the
 gospel, and a christian liberty, which ac-
 quiesceth



quiesceth only in the decisions of Jesus Christ; are not entirely banished from the face of the earth, as they would have been without those struggles of our ancestors."

But let us hear some more of the advice of Erasmus to a certain preacher at Constance who consulted with him, how the reformation might best be advanced. "This preacher," says he, "who certainly is a worthy man, will do more service to the gospel, the honor of which we all have at heart, if he takes care to join the prudence of the evangelical serpent to the simplicity of the evangelical dove. Let him essay it; and then let him condemn my counsel, if he finds it not to be salutary."—"Alas! says Dr. Jortin, experience hath taught the christian world, that this same serpentine prudence served to make falsehood triumphant. It was even easy to foresee it, since this wisdom consisting only in submitting to that faction, which was the most powerful and the most obstinate." And indeed "some of the evils, which Erasmus prognosticated, came to pass accordingly in some places: but, in

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general,

general, things did not go so ill as he apprehended. And the christian societies, which arose from these tumults, have been greatly preferable to the christian world, and to the state of it, for many ages before the reformation."

The intrinsic value of this work of our author's will be differently estimated, according to the complexion of the reader, or it may, probably, be determined, by persons of a certain description, *without* reading it, as was the fate of some of the works of Erasmus. Indifference will, in some cases, secretly effect the work of zeal, more slowly indeed, but not less surely. The "odium theologicum," has oftentimes been directed against supposed offenders upon very slight suspicions, and has prevailed against the pleas of truth, of justice, and of humanity;---that it has done so heretofore, all history will bear testimony;---that it continues to do so still, more privately indeed, in some cases, but not with less envenomed shafts, a moderate acquaintance with the world will sufficiently shew. In some recent instances

instances it has proceeded to the most alarming outrages. How readily this temper was turned against Erasmus, he hath told us in very plain words, "There are none," says he, "who bark at me more furiously, than they who never saw even the outside of my book. Try the experiment upon any of them, and you shall find that I tell you what is true. When you meet with one of these bawlers, let him rave on at my new Testament, till he hath made himself hoarse, and out of breath. Then ask him gently, whether he hath read it.* If he hath the impu-

R 2

dence

* There is one fact of this kind recorded. "A Dominican, who had signalized himself by railing at Erasmus's version of the new Testament, both in his sermons, and in conversation, at Strasburg, in the presence of Jacobus Sturmius, was compelled to own that he had not read one line of the book. These men, says Erasmus, first hate, and then condemn, and then seek for passages to justify their censures."—Bishop Horsley, more ingenuous, but with equally unabashed assurance, notwithstanding his share in the controversy with Dr. Priestley, avows his never having read his "History of early opinions concerning Jesus Christ;" and declares himself "as ignorant of the contents of that work, as he could have been, had it never been published." See p. xii. of his preface to his "Tracts in controversy with Dr. Priestley."

dence to say, yes ; urge him to produce one passage that deserves to be blamed. You will find that he cannot. Consider now whether this be the behaviour of a christian, or suitable to the profession of a monk, to blacken before the populace a man's reputation, which they cannot restore to him again, though they should attempt it, and to rail at things, of which they are entirely ignorant ; never considering the declaration of St. Paul, that slanderers shall not inherit the kingdom of heaven. Of all the vile ways of defaming a man, none is more villainous than to accuse him of heresy ; and yet to this they have recourse upon the slightest provocation. As amongst the Swiss, if one of the multitude lifts up his finger, and gives the signal, all the rest, as they say, do the same, and run to pillage ; so when one of this monkish herd hath begun to grunt, all the rest grunt also, and stir up the populace to stone their enemies, forgetting the character which they assume, and making it their only occupation to throw dirt at honest men."

So

" So it was in the days of Erasmus, and so it hath been since ; the same tragi-comedy hath been represented by different actors and upon different stages." This is a general remark of Dr. Jortin's, which may be brought home by some, and denied by others ; but in which he might have been more specific, if occasion had required, or he had been disposed to enter into detail. The admirable preface which he placed before the first volume of his " Remarks on ecclesiastical history," and which had been published only seven years before his " Life of Erasmus," raised a very general and loud clamour among the bigots of that time. There were some among his brethren of the city clergy, who were strongly disposed to harraßs the ecclesiastical remarker with the vexation and expence of a legal prosecution ; and which they would have attempted, had not such design been discountenanced by more moderate persons.

But the pleas for reformation were formerly opposed not only by the angry pens of those who were retained by prejudice, or by hire, on the part of established systems, but by a persecuting and intolerant spirit which le-

welled the ties of humanity, and deluged with blood, and indelibly disgraced, the history of the propagation of the christian faith.

No man lamented these scenes more than Erasmus did; and yet on some occasions, and particularly on one, when through fear of offending certain persecuting princes, he was disposed to admit the punishment of heresy with death. In a letter to the elector of Saxony, (1525) he desired him "to punish Luther, or at least to reprimand and to muzzle him." Sooner would I muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn, than him who shall labor to free the human mind from the bondage of superstition and slavery.

On another occasion, when "Erasmus was charged with maintaining that it was unlawful to put heretics to death; he was afraid lest Francis, and Charles, and Ferdinand, and George of Saxony, and Henry VIII. and other persecuting princes, should suspect that he condemned their cruel conduct; and therefore he then meanly began to maintain, that there were certain heretics, who might be put to death, as blasphemers and rioters.

rioters. The good man did not consider, says Dr. Jortin, that if he had been seized himself as an heretic, and the monks had sat in judgment upon him, he would infallibly have been pronounced one of those heretics, who deserved death."

The sixteenth century, we are reminded, produced "turbulent and tempestuous times; violent struggles between the reformed and the romanists; contests, not for things of small importance, but for nothing less than power and dominion on the one side; life and liberty on the other. Religious disputes opened the scene, and produced religious wars and cruel persecutions:

belli, horrida bella,

Et Tibrisi multo spumantem sanguine cerno."

And yet, while some may observe here, how great a fire a little spark kindleth, we may remark, in return, that much of that temporary mischief which is almost inseparable from the reformation of civil and religious institutions, may be prevented by gradual concessions from those very persons, who have the strongest apprehensions from the

disturbing of the public lethargy,—for darkness and error, fostered by indolence and timidity, deserve not the name of public peace. But an obstinate retention of the whole and every part of a long established system of human doctrines and devices, is likely, in the end, to be most friendly to an effectual and permanent reformation upon the true and consistent principles of christianity and protestantism, how little soever the patrons of modern orthodoxy may be disposed to admit the consequences of their own conduct. Just concessions and accommodations from those who would affect the distinction of moderate men, to the manly and irresistible pleas of scripture and reason, made under the favorable circumstance of a proper season, and done with a good grace, have a natural tendency to relax the spirit, and abate the perseverance of the most earnest remonstrants even in the best of causes in which men can be engaged; but an invincible obstinacy in retaining them unites and concentrates that spirit. Time also advances and perfects knowledge, and discovers

discovers and exposes the impediments to its more general reception, until the triumph of truth is established upon a total dispersion of error, not only by destroying the superstructure, but by utterly erasing the bad principles upon which it has been nurtured.

These reflections are countenanced by an observation of our author's. "Very true it is," says Dr. Jortin, "that the struggles of the reformers caused many disorders, and drew a terrible persecution upon them and their successors; but it was through the fault of that church, to which Erasmus wanted to remain united, and which would hear of no amendments." And it was remarked, even about the time of the reformation, that "if the ecclesiastics would have granted the cup to the laity, and marriage to the clergy, lutheranism would have come to nothing." And, in our own time, had proper attention been paid to the Candid disquisitors,—the petitioning clergy,—the associators with Mr. Wollaston,—the applications of protestant dissenters for an extended toleration,—the motions of earl Stanhope and Mr. Fox, for
the

the repeal of certain penal laws, and to the proposal of bishop Watson for the liquidation of the revenues of the church; the out-works of the establishment would have acquired strength and stability, though confessedly built with untempered mortar. It is now most probable that, in the course of human events, the accumulated and accumulating mass of doctrines not believed, of power abused, of institutions disapproved, of discipline neglected, will not be left to moulder away insensibly, but will, in some favorable moment of civil reform, be altogether disowned and destroyed. Dr. Jortin's arguments go directly to the vindication of this conduct in the close of an observation on the obstinacy of the scholastic divines in the days of Erasmus. "Therefore the tumults," says he, "which honest Erasmus so dreaded and abhorred, were a necessary evil in many places, where these ignorant rulers would listen to no remonstrances, nor yield up the smallest scrap of their pretended rights. As well might men have charmed the Dionysiiuses, and other tyrants of antiquity with philanthropic discourses, and have persuaded them

them to quit their post, and to make due reparation for all the mischief which they had done."

If it were our immediate business to inquire into the causes of this procrastination of the reform of ecclesiastical institutions, it were no difficult matter to explore and detect them. The prejudices and education, the natural temper and passions of men, have oftentimes greater weight in determining their conduct than they are at all times disposed to admit, or are even themselves conscious of. The remaining and more reprehensible cause of this backwardness to reformation, is that unreasonable attention to the temporal interests of some of the parties concerned, which is not seldom very observable by the by-stander. The argument of the silversmiths of Ephesus, who were employed to make shrines for the goddess Diana, has prevailed as well since as before their time,—by this craft we have our wealth: and the field for its operation is enlarged from the alliance of the church with the state, which forms a league unnatural

tural in itself, and unfriendly to all reasonable liberty, involves one description of men in a dependency upon another, and subjects them to unworthy and disgraceful accommodations to the little political parties and intrigues of the day. Hence it has happened, that a defection from integrity and good principles has attended not only the actual elevation to the titled distinctions and large emoluments in the established church, but even the distant prospect of them.* Jortin entertained his suspicions of Erasmus, had he been placed in the advanced situation in which he might have done a great deal in the way of affecting what he is supposed to have wished for. "If, instead of Leo X," says he, "Erasmus I. had filled the papal chair, he might perhaps have converted these people, [the Pyghards,] and prevented all the

* "A cardinal, according to the definition of Guy Patin, is *animal rubrum, callidum, et rapax; capax et vorax omnium beneficiorum*. A good commentary might be made," says Jortin, "upon this text of Guy Patin, which (excepting the *rubrum*) is applicable to other people besides cardinals. But in this case the fault, I think, is as much in the *feeder* as in the *eater*." "Life of Erasmus," vol. i. p. 564.

the sad disorders which ensued ; but then we must also suppose, that, being raised to so exalted a station, he had carried along with him, and preserved untainted, all his good sense, and all his probity and moderation :

Rarus enim ferme sensus communis in illa Fortuna."

I remember to have been told, upon very credible authority, of a certain ***** now deceased, that upon his coming into a bookseller's shop soon after his advancement to the mitre, was desired by his publisher to permit another edition of a certain popular theological and controversial tract, which he had very recently given to the world, as he would then fight my lord of ***** upon equal terms. The new bishop very ingenuously returned for answer, " No more controversy now, Mr. *****." A literary gentleman, who was then in the shop, observed in a very audible voice,—“ There spake the spirit of six and twenty bishops.” Other and more substantial evidences are not wanting to mark the fluctuation in the sentiments of this prelate, who was once as
much

much distinguished by his liberality of sentiment, as by his learning.

In some characters there is so large a portion of worldly prudence as to destroy not only the reputation, but the good effect of great abilities and many amiable dispositions. To hear Erasmus say that "there is a certain pious craft, and an innocent time-serving, which, however, we must so use as not to betray the cause of religion." And again, "I follow," says he, "the decisions of the pope and the emperor when they are right, which is acting religiously; I submit to them when they are wrong, which is acting prudently: and I think that it is lawful for good men to behave themselves thus, when there is no hope of obtaining any more." So also, when he confesses that it is "a great impiety to halt between Christ and Belial, he nevertheless thinks it is prudent to steer between Scylla and Charybdis." These temporizing principles, which will go to the justification of the basest conduct, have given great occasion of reproach and scandal to his memory.

Erasmus's

Erasmus's timidity and duplicity towards Luther, roused that intrepid spirit to express himself in very strong, though as he says, very restrained language. "You might, indeed," says he, "have favoured us not a little by your wit, and by your eloquence; but forasmuch as you have not that courage which is requisite, it is safer for you to serve the Lord in your own way." Nay Erasmus was constrained to make this humiliating and disgraceful confession of himself; "I can neither hold my peace, nor speak the things which become the gospel of Jesus Christ."

Dr. Jortin sent a copy of his Life of Erasmus to bishop Sherlock, "to pay," as he says, "in some measure the debt of an author to an author;" for he had received the four volumes of the bishop's discourses. The bishop made a handsome apology for not sooner acknowledging the "great favor done him;" but it has been conjectured that he cautiously avoided committing himself upon the subject, or execution, of the work. Jortin speaks of him, in his answer, as being "one of those very few amongst his superiors,

tions, to whom he had obligations." But the bishop's letter bears date, Oct. 13, 1760, and he died July 18, 1761, in the 84th year of his age : and in his infirm state of health it was not to be expected that he should make any more particular acknowledgment, than what the common rules of civility required.*

The candor of Dr. Warton was arraigned by an able writer in a periodical publication,† for having omitted all mention of Jortin's life of Erasmus, and contenting himself with saying in his "Essay on the genius and writings of Pope," that "the Life of Erasmus which deserved the finest pen, had been wretchedly and frigidly written by Knight, although some materials he had collected, were curious and useful."‡

Dr. Warton's essay was stated to have been published four years after Jortin's Life of

* See the bishop's letter and Dr. Jortin's answer in "Anecdotes of Bowyer," p. 262. and "Tracts philological," &c. vol. ii. p. 30 and 31.

† See Gent. Mag. for October 1789, vol. liz. p. 889 and 890.

‡ See Warton's "Essay," vol. i. second edit. 1762, p. 182—184.

of Erasmus, but it afterwards appeared that the first volume was originally printed and published in 1756, two years before Jortin's work saw the light. A second edition of the Essay in 1762, *corrected*, preserves, however, the same profound silence in respect to Jortin. In a vindication of the essayist, (which was probably written by himself,) it was observed, that " Dr. Warton was known always to have admired Dr. Jortin, for the extensiveness of his erudition, the elegance of his taste, and the liberality of his sentiments; of which he had given sufficient proof so early as the year 1753; for, having occasion to mention a happy emendation of Dr. Jortin's, on a passage of Euripides, in his notes on the fourth Georgic of Virgil, p. 345, he introduces it by calling Dr. Jortin, "an author, whose meanest praise is his critical taste and judgment."*

* See Gent. Mag. for Nov. 1789, vol. lix. p. 997.

CHAPTER VII.

Collated to a prebend in St. Paul's, the vicarage of Kensington, and archdeaconry of London; publishes "Some remarks upon Phillips's life of cardinal Pole;" and a second edition of the first three volumes of his "Remarks on ecclesiastical history," in two volumes; his death and character, 1762—1770.

Dr. JORTIN essentially injured his health, by his application to his Life of Erasmus, as I was assured by a very respectable friend who knew him well. In his preface to that work he addressed himself to his friends, "recommending himself to their favor, whilst he was with them, and his name, when he was gone hence; and intreating them in a wish, that he might pass the evening of a studious and unambitious life in an humble but not a slothful obscurity; and never forfeit the kind continuance of their accustomed approbation."

"But,"

“ But,” as is elsewhere observed, “ whatever he or his friends might wish, he was to live hereafter neither so studiously, nor so obscurely, as his imagination had figured out to him : more public scenes, than any he had yet been engaged in, still awaited him.”*

Dr. Hayter, bishop of London, with whom, by the way, Dr. Jortin had always been upon intimate terms, and for whom he had a great esteem, died January 9, 1762 ; and Dr. Osbaldiston, who was also his friend, and then bishop of Carlisle, was promoted to the see of London. So early as the 10th of March that year, Dr. Jortin was appointed chaplain to bishop Osbaldiston, and about the latter end of the same month was collated by his lordship to the prebend of Harleston, in the cathedral church of St. Paul's. In the following October, the bishop gave him the vicarage of Kensington, worth about 300*l.* a year ; soon after which he quitted his house in Hatton Garden, and went to reside there.

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In

* See Dr. Heathcote's Account of him, prefixed to his “ Sermons,” p. viii. and ix.

In 1763, Dr. Jortin assisted Mr. Markland in correcting the proof sheets of the “*Supplices mulieres*” of Euripides, in quarto. He had before done the same for a little treatise by the same learned gentleman, entitled, “*De Græcorum quintâ declinatione imparisyllabicâ, et inde formatâ Latinorum tertia, Quæstio grammatica*,” which had been first printed in 1761, and was now annexed to the “*Supplices mulieres*.”—Of our author, it is said in an advertisement prefixed; “*Absente auctore, vicem ejus ad prelum suscepit vir doctissimus Joannes Jortinus S. T. P. cujus eruditæ curæ multum debere hanc editionem profitatur commentator.*” *

Bishop

* See Nichols’s “*Anecdotes of Bowyer*,” p. 262, and 20.—And in the Oxford edition of Euripides, the learned editor Dr. Musgrave, thus writes vol. i. p. 382. (but which I transcribe from the *Gent. mag.* for 1788, p. 121.) “*Jortin, quæ hic aliquoties commemorantur, notæ, cum multis aliis ex margine codicis, quo utebatur vir doctissimus, descriptæ sunt, et in meos Oxonio transmissæ. Earum maximam partem vel in erratis typographicis corrigendis versari deprehendimus, vel ex aliorum criticorum libris memoriæ causâ excerptam esse: omninoque perpauca esse, quæ Jortinum auctorem agnoscerent: quarum eas tantum protulimus, in quibus elegans illud et acutum ingenium maximè elucere videbatur.*”

Bishop Osbaldiston gave a repeated proof, about a month before his death, of his determined patronage of our author by appointing him archdeacon of London in April 1764; and it has been generally said that the bishop had offered him the rectory of St. James's, Westminster, upon the death of Dr. Samuel Nicolls in November 1763; but that he chose to continue at Kensington, that being a situation he much liked, and better adapted to his then advanced age.

Mr. Phillips published the "History of the life of Reginald Pole" in 1764; which is, says Dr Neve, "a laboured, plausible insult both upon the civil and ecclesiastical liberties of this country;"* and which, Dr. Jortin says, was "undertaken to recommend to us the very scum and dregs of popery, and to vilify and calumniate the reformation and the reformers, in a bigoted, disingenuous, and superficial performance."† This design of writing, "with a view to excite in us a favorable opinion of himself and his party, required

S 3

* Dr. Neve's Preface to his "Animadversions."

† Dr. Jortin's Charge, vol. vii. of his Sermons, p. 375.

required singular qualifications."* Such it seems as Mr. Phillips did not abound in. Dr. Neve and Dr. Gloucester Ridley severally undertook to vindicate the doctrine and character of the reformers from the false representations and injurious reflections of Mr. Phillips; the former in some "Animadversions" upon, and the latter in a "Review" of the history in question, both published in 1766.

Dr. Jortin communicated "Some remarks upon Mr. Phillips's history," to Dr. Neve, which were printed at the end of his work.†

In these, our author observes generally on Mr. Phillips's invectives against Erasmus, (with whose works he seemed to be entirely unacquainted, and whom he represented as a wretch void of all religion,) that they are the scum and dregs of the accusations which blockheads, bigots, fanatics, and hypocrites, have so plentifully thrown out. But that there were writers of the Romish communion, who had

* Dr. Jortin in App. to Neve, and p. 43. of "Tracts."

† In Appendix, number i. and republished in "Tracts philological," &c. vol. ii. p. 37---44.

had treated Erasmus with decency and candor, as Thuanus, Du Pin, Richard, Marfollier, &c.

“ If the Romanists had fully and freely granted the cup to the laity, and marriage to the clergy, it might have been an ugly blow to lutheranism.” This had been observed before by Dr. Jortin in another place,* but he here brings the remark a little nearer home, and which is peculiarly applicable to the spirit and some late manœuvres of certain “ friends and fellow churchmen” of our own time.† “ BUT,” says he, “ BY REFUSING TO GIVE UP ANY THING, HOW ABSURD SOEVER; AND BY ATTEMPTING TO PREVAIL WITH THE HELP OF THEIR OLD SUPPORTERS, FIRE AND FAGGOT, THEY EFFECTUALLY ESTABLISHED THE REFORMATION.”

S 4

Dr.

* See before, p. 249.

† Such was the appellation given by the earl of Aylesford and some of the gentry and clergy in Warwickshire in an address to the incendiaries of Birmingham, in the very act of committing the ever memorable outrages there, in July 1791.

Dr. Jortin republished the three volumes of his *Remarks on ecclesiastical history*, in 1767, in two volumes octavo,—not reducing the matter, but the size of the type. The posthumous continuation of this work in two other volumes, now takes the numerical distinction of the third and fourth, as will be seen hereafter.

Dr. Jortin continued to live in the then vicarage house at Kensington, dividing his time between his pastoral functions and his study, enjoying himself with his usual serenity, till the 27th of August 1770, when he was seized with a disorder in his breast and lungs. He grew continually worse, notwithstanding all medical assistance; and without undergoing much pain, in the course of his illness, or his understanding being in the least impaired, he died the 5th of September, in the 72d year of his age.* The last words

* "I have twice perused Bacon's ingenious "*History of his life and death*." It recommends abundance of things to be taken, and a variety of rules to be observed, with a view to make life healthy and long. But of these prescriptions many are too dear, and almost all too troublesome; and

words of this deservedly eminent man, were expressed in the answer he gave to a female attendant who offered him some nourishment, a very short time before his departure, when he said, with great composure, " No! I HAVE ENOUGH OF EVERY THING."*

He left the following direction in writing for his funeral: " Bury me in a private manner by day-light at Kensington in the church, or rather in the new church-yard, and lay a flat stone over the grave. Let the inscription be only this:

JOANNES JORTIN

MORTALIS ESSE DESIIT

ANNO SALUTIS [MDCCLXX]

ÆTATIS [LXXII]

He

and a long life is not *tanti*. Few persons could procure all these *subsidia*: a lord chancellor, or a lord bishop, might; a poor parson could not afford the hundredth part of the expense. But, for their comfort, I will be bold to tell them, that they may fare as well without his regimen. As to myself, I never observed any of his rules, or any rules at all, except the general ones of regularity and temperance. I never had a strong constitution; and yet, thank God, I have no bad state of health, and few acute disorders." From his " *Adversaria*," published in the advertisement prefixed to " *Tracts philological*" &c. p. viii.

* Nichol's " *Anecdotes of Bowyer*," p. 626.

He was accordingly buried, about nine o'clock in the morning, in the new church-yard at Kensington, and the above inscription was put on his grave stone.

Dr. Jortin left a widow, [who died June 24, 1778, and was buried in the same grave,] and two children, Rogers Jortin, esq. of the Exchequer office, Lincoln's Inn, and Martha, married to the rev. Samuel Darby, formerly fellow of Jesus college Cambridge, and now rector of Whatfield, near Hadleigh, Suffolk.

We have various testimonies which will lead to form a tolerably correct notion of the true character of our author,* and these may well spare any laboured delineation from the present writer: and more especially as the general review of his writings, which will be found in the present pages, will qualify every reader to judge of our author for himself.

“ Besides great integrity, great humanity, and other qualities which make men amiable as well as useful, this learned and excellent person,”

* See p. 216, note.

person," says Dr. Heathcote, " was of a very pleasant and facetious turn, as his writings abundantly shew. He had nevertheless great sensibility, and could express himself with warmth, and even some degree of indignation, when the thought the occasion warranted him so to do. For instance, he had a great respect and fondness for critical learning, which he so much cultivated; and though he knew and allowed it to have been disgraced by the manners of certain proud, fastidious, and insolent critics, such as Scaliger,* Salmasius, Scioppius, &c. yet he thought the restoration of letters, and the civilization of Europe, so much indebted to it, that he could ill bear to see it contemptuously treated: and to this may be imputed the little satirical strokes which sometimes occur in his works, against those who did so contemptuously treat it.

" For

* Of an oration of Julius Cæsar Scaliger, Jortin says " the whole is seasoned with arrogance, vanity, self-applause, spite, and scurrility, the usual ornaments, not of a meek and quiet spirit, but of a ruffian and a bruiser in the republic of letters." "Life of Erasmus," vol. i. p. 519.

“ For the motto of his Life of Erasmus, he chose some words of Erasmus himself: “ *Illud certe præfagio, de meis lucubrationibus, qualescunque sunt, candidius judicaturam posteritatem: tametsi nec de meo seculo queri possum.*” Yet it is certain that he had very slight notions of posthumous fame or glory, and of any real good which could arise from it; as appears from what he had collected and written about it in a note on Milton, at the end of his Remarks on Spencer.* He could sometimes complain, and doubtless with good reason, of the low estimation into which learning was fallen; and

* See p. 179, or “ *Tracts philological,*” &c. vol. i. p. 325, where certain remarks on this head are closed by the following,—“ If we have the mortification to see our works die before us, we may comfort ourselves with the consideration, which Seneca suggests to us, that a time will come, when the most excellent and admired compositions shall perish. Nor is the consolation much smaller, which offers itself to us, when we look back, and consider how many good authors there must needs have been, of whom no memorial is left; and how many, of whom nothing but the bare name survives; and how many books are extant indeed, but never read.

Aufer

and thought it discountenanced and discouraged, indirectly at least, when ignorant and worthless persons were advanced to high stations and great preferments, while men of merit and abilities were overlooked and neglected.* Nevertheless, he laid no undue stress upon such stations and such preferments; but

Aufer ab hinc lacrimas, Barathro, et composce querelas.
Lumina sis oculis etiam bonus Ancus reliquit,
Qui melior multis, quam tu, fuit, improbe, rebus,
Lucretius iii. ver. 967, 1038.

To these motives of contentment under such circumstances, I need not add, what every neglected author says to himself, that the age he lives in has no taste."

* Dr. Knox, in the former editions of his *Essays*, as has been observed before, p. 93, note, had said the same thing, which for some reason or other, that cannot be supposed to invalidate the fact, he has since omitted. An anonymous writer, in the *Gent. Mag.* for August 1773. (vol. xliii. p. 387 and 388.) who says he was many years intimate with him, and had in general much satisfaction in his company, as with him he was unreserved, observes that Dr. Jortin had some private fortune of his own and was of a peculiar disposition that could not solicit preferment, nor could bear to be neglected, but with severe reflections on those who preferred the ignorant, and neglected the learned;—that "his temper was rather morose and saturnine, as was his aspect. In company he liked, he was at all times

but entertained just notions concerning what must ever constitute the chief good and happiness of man, and is himself believed to have made the most of them.”*

“Where,” says he in his *Adversaria*, “where is happiness to be found? Where is

times facetious, but mixed with a large quantity of *sal cen-
sura superiorum*. His sermons were sensible, argumenta-
tive, and to the purpose; but delivered in so negligent a
manner, and with so little emphasis, as to make little im-
pression on the audience. He was a virtuous man, no
bigot, but pretty free in his thoughts on some controverted
points; which yet he had not courage always to avow,
reading and disapproving the Athanasian creed at the same
time.” Another writer, in the same periodical work, for
Dec. 1777, (vol. xlvii. p. 595.) observes that “his ser-
mons, pleased much more in the closet than they did from
the pulpit, the preacher wanting all those graces which
Herring so eminently possessed, and in truth delivering his
discourses with such a rustic monotony, and such an inat-
tention to stops as well as to cadence, as nearly to resemble
a school-boy repeating a task, or rather another person’s
task. In his manners, too, there was a kind of rusticity
which sometimes disgusted those who did not know him,
though he had gentleness and true urbanity in his mind.”---
A venerable friend told me, that he was “very subject to be
out of humour, but was chearful and pleasant when in so-
ciety, and seldom came out while the wind was in the east.”

* Dr. Heathcote’s “Account,” p. xi---xiii.

is her dwelling-place? Not where we seek her, and where we expect to find her. Happiness is a modest recluse, who seldom shews her lovely face in the polite, or in the busy world. She is the sister and companion of religious wisdom.

“ Among the vanities and the evils which Solomon beheld under the sun, and which we daily behold, one is this; an access of temporal fortunes, to the detriment of the possessor; whence it appears, that such prosperity is a dangerous thing, and that few persons have a head strong enough, and an heart good enough, to bear it.

“ A sudden rise from a low station, as it sometimes shews to advantage the virtuous and amiable qualities which could not exert themselves before; so it more frequently calls forth to view, and exposes to open light those spots of the soul, those base dispositions and hateful vices, which lay lurking in secret, cramped by penury, and veiled with dissimulation.

“ An honest and sensible man is placed in a middle station; in circumstances rather scanty than abounding. He hath all the necessaries,
but

but none of the superfluities of life; and these necessities he acquires by his prudence, his studies, and his industry. If he seeks to better his income, it is by such methods as hurt neither his conscience nor his constitution. He hath friends and acquaintances of his own rank: he receives good offices from them, and he returns the same. As he hath his occupations, he hath his diversions also; and partakes of the simple, frugal, obvious, innocent, and cheerful amusements of life. By a sudden turn of things, he grows great, in the church, or in the state. Now his fortune is made; and he says to himself, "The days of scarcity are past; the days of plenty are come; and happiness is come along with them." Mistaken man! It is no such thing. He never more enjoys one happy day, compared with those, which once shone upon him. He discards his old companions, or treats them with cold, distant, and proud civility. Friendship, free and open conversation, rational inquiry, sincerity, contentment, and the plain and unadulterated pleasures of life, are no more: they departed from him along with his poverty. New connections,

connections, new prospects, new desires, and new cares take place; and engross so much of his time and of his thoughts, that he neither improves his heart nor his understanding. He lives ambitious and restless; and he dies---RICH.*

Whether Dr. Jortin was disappointed in his expectations of notice and preferment from his superiors, it may not be very easy to determine with any certainty. It is well known that he was very slenderly provided for 'till archbishop Herring gave him the living of St. Dunstan's in the east in 1751, and bishop Osbaldiston the vicarage of Kensington in 1762.---In his address to his friends at the conclusion of his preface to his *Life of Erasmus*, which we have before cited;† and from what he says further of himself at the close of that work, we may be inclined to think with Dr. Knox, that "he did not repine." In this last place, having remarked the high stomach of
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* Dr. Jortin's "*Adversaria*," cited in Dr. Heathcote's *Account*, p. xiv.---xvi. and in "*Tracts philological*," &c. vol. ii. p. 537—539.

† See p. 258.

the learned Joseph Scaliger, and that his resentment against the age in which he lived, made him talk in a manner beneath himself, when he advised all parents to keep their children from literature, and to turn them entirely to occupations more lucrative, and more respected by the world, he adds, "As for the writer of the Life of Erasmus, if he may be permitted here to speak of himself, and to throw away a few lines upon such a subject, he hath no cause to wish that he had followed other occupations. Not to his erudition, (for many things have concurred to hinder him from making any considerable progress in it,) but to his constant love and pursuit of it, he owes his late patron; [archbishop Herring] he owes several worthy friends still living, ONE in particular; and a situation and station, better than he expected, and as good as he ought to desire."*

In his letter on the music of the ancients, Dr. Jortin observes that "many things we must expect to meet with, which it would be hard

* See "Life of Erasmus," vol. i. p. 607.

hard to bear, if a compensation were not to be found in honest endeavours to do well; in virtuous affections, and connections, and in harmless and reasonable amusements. And why should not a man amuse himself sometimes? *Vive la Bagatelle!*" And hereupon he goes on to say, "I mention this, principally with a view to the case of others; (*Homo sum: humani nihil a me alienum puto:*) having found more friends, and received more favors and courtesies, than, as the world goes, fall to the share of one person."*

These declarations are tolerably specific, and I do not say that very great stress is to be laid on the contrary testimony of our author against himself, which may finally be resolved into mere suspicions and conjectures. Such however as it is, it shall be pointed out to the reader's notice.

When he speaks of Erasmus's talent for humour and ridicule "giving offence, especially to those, who expected that their weaknesses or vices should be spared on account

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* See his "Letter on the music of the ancients," p. 25. republished in "Tracts philological" &c. vol. ii. p. 17.

of their station and character ;” he observes, “ else the king, the courtiers, and the bishops, who often bestowed preferments upon drones, void of all capacity and merit, and sometimes loaded them with pluralities, might easily have given him something in the church, without cure of souls, which would have afforded him leisure to study, and means to live.”*

Had not Dr. Jortin felt something of the same kind himself, he probably would not have cited so forcibly, what Erasmus wrote to lord Mountjoy, “ As I remember, your lordship used to say, *Fortune offers a man bread, when he hath no teeth to chew it.*” And he immediately adds, “ Better late than never.” He then goes on to say, from anonymous authority ; “ Hath literature been thy choice and thy occupation ? (saith a certain author,) and hast thou food and raiment ? Be contented : be thankful : be amazed at thy good fortune. Art thou dissatisfied, and desirous of other things ? Go, and make twelve votes at an election. It shall do thee more service than

* See “Life of Erasmus,” vol. i. p. 52.

than to make a commentary on the twelve minor prophets.*

Neither Jortin, however, nor Erasmus are to be considered among the *infelices literati*,† although they were generally considered as learned men neglected by those, who had the ability to serve them, and who would have derived much honor to themselves by so doing.

Hints concerning the expectations of literary persons are scattered in various parts of his writings. In one place, he observes, that, "every man of letters must not indulge the vain hope, though he should be as learned, as ingenious, and as industrious as Erasmus, to be as much favoured and encouraged as he was. But this is not a sufficient cause to deter any person from a studious life. Learning is in many respects its own reward; learning applied to useful purposes, and adorned with good manners. Without these, though it may be of some service to

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* See "Life of Erasmus," vol. i. p. 482 and 483.

† Ib, p. 601.

the public, it will be of small comfort to the possessor.

“ After personal merit, (says Bruyere) it must be confessed that high stations and pompous titles are the principal and the most splendid marks of distinction: and he who cannot be an *Erasmus*, must think of being a *bishop*.*

• Dr. Jortin also represents Erasmus, as often declaring “ that he could not endure the fatigue of revising, polishing, and correcting his own works; especially, since for all his pains he had no prospect of obtaining any thing besides scholars wages; weak eyes, ill health, short commons, and a little reputation, mixed with much envy and detraction.”†

In addition to what has been already stated, respecting the character of Dr. Jortin, in the present chapter, and may be found incidentally

* See “ Life of Erasmus,” vol. i. p. 606.

† See “ Life of Erasmus,” p. 67. And if the reader will turn to p. 537. he will find men of rank and fortune shewing a love of literature, represented as a Milesian fable and a fairy tale.

incidentally mentioned in other parts of the present volume, I must be indulged with reciting, as I am persuaded my reader will be gratified by the perusal, the character of our author as drawn by the energetic pen of Dr. Parr. "JORTIN," says he, "whether I look back to his verse, to his prose, to his critical, or to his theological works, there are few authors to whom I am so much indebted for rational entertainment, or for solid instruction. Learned he was, without pedantry. He was ingenious without the affectation of singularity. He was a lover of truth, without hovering over the gloomy abyss of scepticism, and a friend to free-enquiry, without roving into the dreary and pathless wilds of latitudinarianism. He had a heart, which never disgraced the powers of his understanding. With a lively imagination, an elegant taste, and a judgment most masculine and most correct, he united the artless and amiable negligence of a school boy. Wit without ill-nature, and sense without effort, he could, at will, scatter upon every subject; and in every book,

the writer presents us with a near and distinct view of the real man :

—ut omnis

Votiva pateat tanquam descripta tabella

Vita senis.

Hor. Sat. i. lib. 2.

“ His style, though inartificial, is sometimes elevated : though familiar, it is never mean ; and though employed upon various topics of theology, ethics, and criticism, it is not arrayed in any delusive resemblance, either, of solemnity, from fanatical cant ; of profoundness, from scholastic jargon ; of precision, from the crabbed formalities of cloudy philologists ; or of refinement, from the technical babble of frivolous connoisseurs.

“ At the shadowy and fleeting reputation which is sometimes gained by the petty frolics of literary vanity, or the mischievous struggles of controversial rage, Jortin never grasped. Truth, which some men are ambitious of seizing by surprize in the trackless and dark recess, he was content to overtake in the broad and beaten path : and in the pursuit

pursuit of it, if he does not excite our
 astonishment by the rapidity of his strides,
 he, at least, secures our confidence by the
 firmness of his step. To the examination of
 positions advanced by other men, he always
 brought a mind, which neither prepossession
 had seduced, nor malevolence polluted. He
 imposed not his own conjectures as infallible
 and irresistible truths, nor endeavoured to
 give an air of importance to trifles, by dog-
 matical vehemence. He could support his
 more serious opinions, without the versatility
 of a sophist, the fierceness of a disputant, or
 the impertinence of a buffoon—more than
 this—he could *relinquish* or *correct* them with
 the calm and steady dignity of a writer, who,
 while he yielded something to the arguments
 of his antagonists, was conscious of retain-
 ing enough to command their respect. He
 had too much discernment to confound dif-
 ference of opinion with malignity or dullness,
 and too much candour to insult, where he
 could not persuade. Though his sensibilities
 were neither coarse nor sluggish, he yet was
 exempt from those fickle humours, those
 rankling

rankling jealousies, and that restless waywardness, which men of the brightest talents are too prone to indulge. He carried with him, into every station in which he was placed, and every subject which he explored, a solid greatness of soul, which could spare an inferior, though in the offensive form of an adversary, and endure an equal with, or without, the sacred name of friend. The importance of commendation, as well to him who bestows, as to him who claims it, he estimated not only with justice, but with delicacy, and therefore, he neither wantonly lavished it, nor withheld it austere. But in invective he neither provoked nor feared; and, as to the severities of contempt, he reserved them for occasions where alone they *could* be employed with propriety, and where, by *himself*, they always *were* employed with effect—for the chastisement of arrogant dunces, of censorious sciolists, of intolerant bigots in every sect, and unprincipled impostors in every profession. Distinguished in various forms of literary composition, engaged in various duties of his ecclesiastical profession,

profession, and blessed with a long and honourable life, he nobly exemplified that rare and illustrious virtue of charity, which Leland, in his reply to the letter-writer,* thus eloquently describes; "CHARITY never misrepresents; never ascribes obnoxious principles or mistaken opinions to an opponent, which he himself disavows; is not so earnest in refuting, as to fancy positions never asserted, and to extend its censure to opinions, which *will perhaps* be delivered. CHARITY is utterly averse to *snaring*, the most despicable species of ridicule, that most despicable subterfuge of an impotent objector. CHARITY never supposes, that all sense and knowledge are confined to a particular circle, to a district, or to a country: CHARITY never condemns and embraces principles in the same breath; never *professes* to confute, what it *acknowledges* to be just; never presumes to bear down an adversary with confident assertions; CHARITY does not call
dissent,

* Dr. Thomas Leland's "Answer to a letter to him; containing, an examination of the criticism on a late dissertation on the principles of eloquence," p. 51, 4to. 1763.

diffent, insolence, or the want of implicit submission, a want of common respect."

" This, I cannot help exclaiming in the words of a right reverend remarker*--" This is the solution of a philosopher indeed; clear, simple, manly, rational, and striking conviction in every word, unlike the refined and fantastic nonsense of a writer of paradoxes."

" The esteem, the affection, the reverence, which I feel for so profound a scholar, and so honest a man, as Dr. Jortin, make me wholly indifferent to the praise and censure of those, who vilify, without reading, his writings, or read them, without finding some incentive to study, some proficiency in knowledge, or some improvement in virtue."†

We will again adduce the general testimony of the essayist, whom we have repeatedly quoted, and with that close our present inquiry. " A review of the life of the late Dr.

* Bishop Hurd's Remarks on Hume, p. 93.

† See Dr. Parr's "Preface to the two tracts of a Warburtonian," in p. 194--196, of "Tracts by Warburton, and a Warburtonian." 8vo. 1789.

Dr. Jortin cannot but suggest the most pleasing reflections. As a poet, a divine, a philosopher, and a man, he served the cause of religion, learning, and morality. There are, indeed, many writers whose reputation is more diffused among the vulgar and illiterate, but few will be found whose names stand higher than Dr. Jortin's in the esteem of the judicious."---And afterwards he adds,---
 " The transition from an author's writings to his life, is frequently disadvantageous to his character. Dr. Jortin, however, when no longer considered as an author, but as a man, is far from being lessened in our opinion. A simplicity of manners, an inoffensive behaviour, an universal benevolence, candour, modesty, and good sense were his characteristics."*

* See Dr. Knox's "Essays," vol. ii. Ess. cxv.

CHAPTER VIII.

The publication of his posthumous works; his "Sermons and charges," in 1771 and 1772; the third and fourth volume of his "Remarks on ecclesiastical history," in 1773; and some new papers in a re-publication of his "Tracts philological, critical, and miscellaneous," in 1790.

"Posthumous publications, it has been remarked, are usually inferior in merit to those which are published during an author's life. And, indeed, the opinion seems plausible; as it may be presumed, that an author's reason for not publishing his works, is a consciousness of their inferiority. The sermons of Dr. Jörtin, are, however, an exception. Good sense and sound morality appear in them, not, indeed, dressed out in the meretricious ornaments of a florid style, but in all the manly force, and simple graces of natural

natural eloquence. The same caprice, which raises to reputation those trifling discourses which have nothing to recommend them but a prettiness of fancy, and a flowery language, will again consign them to oblivion: but the sermons of Dr. Jortin will always be read with pleasure and edification.*

When Dr. Jortin was once asked by a friend, "Why he did not publish his sermons?"—"They shall sleep," said he, "'till I sleep."† This was an implied permission of their future publication, and I am well assured that he had selected many for the purpose, and stamped them with his imprimatur. The reason of his suppressing them during his life time, can now only be conjectured. Dr. Knox, however, assures us, that "they were designed by the author as a legacy to mankind." Adding at the same time, that "to enlarge on their

* See Knox's "Essays," vol. ii. Ess. cxv.

† See Nichols's "Anecdotes of Bowyer," p. 582.

their value would only be to echo back the public voice."*

It has elsewhere been observed, as a matter of surprise, that a learned dissertator on the composition and comparative excellence of some of our english sermons, has noticed and highly commended the sermons of archbishop Secker, bishop Hurd and Dr. Powell, but not even mentioned those of Dr. Jortin.† Equally extraordinary, it appears to me, after reading the very honourable character given of them by the ingenious Essayist, who has been frequently referred to, not to find one sermon of Jortin's in that collection which is generally reported to have been made under his direction and care.‡

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* See the *first* edition, of "Essays" &c. vol. i. Ess. XVIII. but omitted in the later editions of his "Remarks on the life and writings of Dr. Jortin."

† Mr. Mainwaring. See his "Sermons on several occasions preached before the university of Cambridge. To which is prefixed, a Dissertation on that species of composition," 8vo. 1780.

‡ "Family lectures; or domestic divinity, being a copious collection of Sermons, selected from the polite writers

An omission, in both cases, which can only be surpassed, by that of Mr. Baker, in his "Reflections upon learning," who has a chapter on metaphysics, in which he hath made no mention of Locke; just as if a man should write the lives of the greek and latin poets, (says Dr. Jortin,) and only omit Homer and Virgil;

Tantum religio potuit !*

An writers and sound divines of the present century; for the use of schools, and for general instruction." published by Dilly, 1791. large octavo. The authors, whose sermons are admitted into this collection, are, bishop Atterbury, Mr. Thomas Newlin, bishop Sherlock, bishop Butler, Mr. Jeremiah Seed, Mr. Balguy, Dr. George Fothergill, archdeacon Tottie, Dr. Richard Newton, Dr. Thomas Ashton, Dr. Matthew Horbery, Dr. Daniel Waterland, Mr. Edward Stone, Dr. John Langhorne, Dr. Alexander Gerard, and Dr. Henry Stebbing.

* See "Life of Erasmus," vol. i. p. 550. It has lately been observed, that, "Aristotle was certainly a great politician; and Claudius Ptolemy was a great geographer; but the latter has said not a word of America, the largest quarter of the globe; nor the former, of representative republics, the resource of afflicted humanity." Barlow's "Advice to the privileged orders, in the several states of Europe." 8vo. 1792. p. 38.

An anonymous writer in one of our periodical publications,* has insisted that seven of the sermons in the three last volumes are translations from the French of L'Enfant and Ostervald; and charges the oversight upon the editor. How far the editor of these volumes, or the agents whom he employed, deserve censure for their carelessness,

I will

* See Gentleman's Magazine for November 1784. (vol. liv. p. 826.) where the following sermons are said to be translations from the respective originals referred to.

Vol. v. Ser. xi. Matt. xi. 30. In great measure from the third of L'Enfant.

xiv. Matt. xv. 22. Literally translated from the fourteenth and fifteenth of L'Enfant.

xix. Prov. xx. 12. A close translation from the fourth of the same writer.

Vol. vi. Ser. xiii. 1 Cor. xv. 9. A literal translation of the ninth of Ostervald.

xiv. Gen. xix. 14. The same of the first of Ostervald.

xix. Acts iii. 26. The same of the fourth.

Vol. vii. ix. 2 Pet. i. 5, 6, 7. The same of the first of L'Enfant.

And, in a preceeding number of the same publication for February 1784. p. 86. another writer takes notice of a repetition in the second and eighteenth sermons in the second volume; and of a mistake in the arrangement of the matter in the fourteenth and fifteenth sermons.

I will not take upon myself to say; but it may be the more excusable, since we have seen the editors of the sermons of the late Mr. Maty, with the eminently discerning bishop Horsley at their head, pronounce upon those sermons as "not being free from the imperfections, which are incident to the compositions of very young men," notwithstanding three of them are literally transcribed from the sermons of archbishop Secker.*—Secker's sermons, therefore, must be no better than the compositions of very young men, or bishop Horsley's judgment, not the judgment of a very wise man.

It has already been very justly observed of these sermons, that "they not only abound with good sense, are highly ingenious and practical, but discover great knowledge of the sacred writings, and a considerable acquaintance with other kinds of learning connected with them. It cannot

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* For Maty's xivth. sermon, see Secker, vol. iii. serm. 1.

xv. ————— ii. ————— 16.

xvi. ————— iii. ————— 11.

See the "Analyt. Review," for January 1789. vol. iii. p. 32.

be said, indeed, that they are greatly conformable to the established articles of the church of England, as to some particular matters of opinion; but they are candid, liberal, and charitable; manifesting a disposition which does not wish to confine, or to domineer over, any man's judgment or conscience; but rather to serve the cause of truth and righteousness, without regard to establishments, systems, or sectaries.*

To the three latter volumes which were given to the public in 1772, are added a tract entitled "The doctrine of a future state, as it may be collected from the old Testament," and "four charges to the clergy of the archdeaconry of London." In the first of these pieces, Dr. Jortin endeavours, with success answerable to his considerable share of learning, and critical acumen, to convince his reader that, "the doctrine of a future state of retribution seems not to be promulgated in the old Testament, nor made a sanction of the mosaic law, nor taught directly and fully; but

* See the review of the first four volumes, in the "Monthly review," vol. xliv. p. 363.

but that it is implied and supposed throughout, and may be proved by inferences justly drawn and strictly conclusive. And hence," says he, "it came to pass, that the jews were divided into the sects of the pharisees and sadduces. The former admitted a doctrine of a future state, as deducible from many passages in the sacred books; the sadduces rejected it, because they could not find any texts that absolutely required a belief of it." It may be added, that this tract contains more argument upon the question than probably will be found in any other volume of the same size.

The four charges which follow, are every way worthy of their author. The first considers "christianity as the preserver and supporter of literature;" and the remaining three, treat of "the use and importance of ecclesiastical history." That Dr. Jortin was eminently qualified to inquire into and to understand these questions, and that he has succeeded in the undertaking, will be denied him by none, who are themselves acquainted with

the subject, with the scriptures, or with human nature.

Probably it would not be deemed an acceptable offering to serve up the *beauties* of Jortin, whose sermons are already in so many hands; but the task, humble as it might be considered, would neither be difficult, nor unpleasing. My own observation would readily furnish me with such a selection; but the originals, may be read with far more considerable advantage, and with greater delight.

Several passages in the scriptures are *incidentally* explained, and an enumeration of them is stated in the margin.* This is an opportunity

* Deut. viii. 4.— Jortin's sermons. vol. v. p. 218.

Prov. xxx. 7. — ib. - - iv. p. 1—6.

Matt. v. 22. — ib. - - ii. p. 209.

xv. 22.—28, ib. - - v. p. 285—304.

xxiii. 15. — ib. - - v. p. 312.

xxiv. 20. — ib. - - v. p. 85.

xxvi. 50. — ib. - - iv. p. 49.

Mark x. 13. — ib. - - ii. p. 144.—146.

xi. 13. — ib. - - ii. p. 305. note.

21. and 22. ib. - - ii. p. 287.—289.

Luke

opportunity, which I am unwilling to lose, of observing how very useful a comprehensive reference to the works, both theological and miscellaneous, of learned and ingenious persons, would be, where passages of scripture are rationally explained. It would be superior to any commentary. Such explanations are now scattered over a very wide field, and many invaluable criticisms, corrected translations, and illustrations are lost in the great chaos of materials in which they are involved.

One sermon of Dr. Jortin's, upon Matthew xxii. 32. *God is not the God of the dead, but of the living;** in which he vindicated

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Luke	xxiii.	34.	Jortin's Sermons,	vii.	p.	44. and 45.
John	xi.	25.—ib.	-	-	vi.	p. 201.—206.
	xxi.	15.—ib.	-	-	i.	p. 382.—384.
Acts	x.	11.—14. ib.	-	-	iii.	p. 353.—357.
Rom.	xii.	20.—ib.	-	-	ii.	p. 77.—82.
1. Cor.	xiii.	12.—ib.	-	-	iii.	p. 277. note.

* See vol. ii. sermon 19.—The propositions in the sermon are the following. I. "That the soul of man subsists after death; and hath some place of abode allotted to it till the resurrection." II. "That this intermediate state is, in all *probability*, not a state of insensibility to the souls of the righteous;

the doctrine of a conscious intermediate state, upon the principle of the natural immortality of the soul, produced a critical investigation of his argument, from archdeacon Blackburne. The discernment of this eminent and very able writer, in estimating different characters is very obvious in the opening of his review of our author's arguments. In the preceeding chapter of the work to which I refer, he had closed his disquisition on the labours

righteous; but of thought and self consciousness, and consequently of content and of happiness, in a certain degree."

Our author is supposed to have failed in the proof of them, but his candid temper is very greatly to be admired. And, throughout the sermon, he appears to argue more like one desirous of being convinced, than one who is thoroughly satisfied. He speaks only of "the probability lying on his side of the question," and of "the scriptures not having said so much as one could wish." Add to these the proposal of a compromise at the end of the note, p. 386.

In vol. iv. (sermon 7.) there is a very excellent sermon on 2 Tim. i. 10.—*Who hath brought life and immortality to light through the gospel*; in which he says the souls of the good are not deprived of thought, but are in a place of peace and contentment, during their separation from the body; concerning which, however, he applies the words of the apostle Paul, *now we see darkly, now we know in part.*

labours of archbishop Secker upon this subject, and then goes on to those of Dr. Jortin's. " We are now to exhibit a writer," says he,* " of far superior abilities, one who was completely qualified to do justice to any subject he undertook to handle, and to whose remains a kind of veneration is due, even though they are only the *scriniorum quisquilæ*, which zealous friends to deceased geniuses sometimes expose to public view, with less judgment than affection." And, in the close of the same chapter, he adds, " when his candid concession, that the righteous lose nothing, and the wicked gain nothing, by their intermediate sleep, is considered, there may be room to doubt, whether the patrons of a conscious intermediate state will be much edified by the doctor's operations on the question, and whether they will not rather chuse to abide by their strong hold of a natural immortality

* See " An historical view of the controversy concerning an intermediate state and separate existence of the soul between death and the general resurrection." Second edition, 8vo. 1772. ch. xxviii. p. 268-296.

mortality on philosophical principles, than accept of his aid on the terms he offers it.

“ Be that as it may, let the *historian* praise his candor in expressing his diffidence in a manner which shews, that he did not desire his interpretations of the texts he builds upon, should pass for infallibilities. Would to God I had the talents to perpetuate the rest of his excellencies to the latest posterity. But he rests from his labours, and heareth not the voice of the oppressor, nor of the petulant scorner. His works will sufficiently speak for him, while there are any remnants of piety, learning, and good sense, among the sons of Britain, and will follow him to those mansions, where neither envy, malevolence, nor the dogmatical arrogance of ignorant supercilious criticism, will deprive him of his reward.

Dum juga montis aper, fluvios dum piscis amabit,
Dumque thymo pascentur apes, dum rore cicadæ,
Semper honos nomenque tuum, laudesque manebunt.”

We are now to resume the subject of ecclesiastical history, and speak of the continuation of his “ Remarks,” in a fourth and fifth

fifth volume, which were published in 1773.* These volumes commence with the year 337, and conclude with 1517, that memorable æra, when, as he expresses himself, " Luther began the heroic work of reformation."†

The materials of which these volumes are composed are chiefly collected from the works of Fleury, Du Pin, Tillemont, Mosheim, Le Clerc, Basnage, &c. and the matter of them is disposed in annals.

The essayist, who, having professedly written remarks on the life and writings of Dr. Jortin, has been repeatedly cited, observes generally of our author's remarks on ecclesiastical history, that they " are full of manly sense, ingenious strictures, and profound erudition. The work," says he, " is highly beneficial to mankind, as it represents, in its proper light, that superstition which disgraced

* The five volumes are now reprinted in four; the first three being reduced by change of page and type to two, in the second edition published 1767. In all references to them in the course of this work, the first disposition of them has been consulted.

† See vol. v. last page.

disgraced human nature, and gives a right sense of the advantages derived from religious reformation. He every where expresses himself with peculiar vehemence against the infatuation of bigotry and fanaticism. Convinced that true happiness is founded on a right use of the reasoning powers, he makes it the scope of all his religious works, to lead mankind from the errors of imagination, to the dictates of dispassionate reason."

We have also the very strong and pointed testimony of bishop Watson, in commendation of the work before us. "Dr. Jortin has," says he, "in a little compass, taken notice of so many facts, and animadverted on them with so much judgment, that this work will be ever held in deserved repute; he has inserted, also, into it, the substance of his discourses on the nature, use, and intent of prophecy; and on miracles, which were preached at Boyle's lecture."*

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* See Appendix, in vol. vi. of the bishop's "Collection of tracts" p. 32. His general reflection on the use of ecclesiastical history is deserving of recital. "A thousand instances

We now come to the mention of the two volumes of "Tracts, philological, critical and miscellaneous, consisting of pieces, many before published separately, several annexed to the works of learned friends, and others now first printed from the author's manuscripts." These volumes were published so lately as 1790; and we have already mentioned such parts of their contents as had been published separately or annexed to the works of learned friends: it only remains to take due notice of those pieces which were now first printed from the author's manuscripts.

In the former volume, there are, of this description, some "Scriptural illustrations; strictures on the articles, subscriptions, tests, &c.; cursory observations; anecdotes; and translations from the "*Lusus poetici*:" in the second volume:

instances of blind attachment to system might be taken from the ecclesiastical history of every century; indeed the whole of it is little more, than the history of the struggles of different sects to overturn the systems of others in order to build up their own, and the great lesson which every sect, and every individual of every sect, ought to learn from its perusal is—MODERATION." See preface to "Collection of tracts," p. xiv.

volume are some "Critical remarks on modern authors; and maxims and reflections."

The "Scriptural illustrations,"* are of unequal importance, but all of them ingenious. They shew the great advantage which the classic scholar possesses in the means of explaining and illustrating the scriptures, and of gratifying his taste for literature. It is observed by the author himself, that, "as religion hath been the chief preserver of erudition, so erudition hath not been ungrateful to her patroness, but hath contributed largely to the support of religion. The useful expositions of the scriptures, the sober and sensible defences of revelation, the faithful representation of *pure and undefiled* christianity; these have been the works of learned, judicious, and industrious men. The corruptions of the gospel, the perverse interpretations and absurd senses put upon the word of God, both in matters of faith and of practice; these have been the inventions of men, who had a small share of learning."

* See "Tracts philological" &c. vol. i. p. 376—416.

learning, and a large share of knavery, or of fanaticism, or of *both* blended together.

“ Fanatics are no friends to reason and learning, and not without some kind of plea, first, because they have usually a slender provision of either: secondly, because a man hath no occasion to spend his time and his pains in the studious way, who hath an inward illumination to guide him to truth, and to make such labour unnecessary.

“ But, they who say that human learning is of no use in religion, are no more to be disputed with, than the honest man in Horace,

Qui se credebat miros audire tragædos,
In vacuo lætus fessor plausorque theatro.

“ He who strives and expects to convince and alter such persons, either undervalues his time and pains, or overvalues his abilities.

“ *Sola scripturarum ars est,*” says Jerome, ‘quam sibi omnes passim vendicant: hanc garrula anus, hanc delirus senex, hanc sophista verbosus, hanc universi presumunt, lacerant, docent, antequam discant.’ What would he say,

Si foret hoc nostrum fato dilatus in ævum !*

The passages in the old and new Testament which Dr. Jortin hath attempted to illustrate in the pages now before us are mentioned in the margin.†

The

* See Dr. Jortin's first charge to the clergy of the archdeaconry of London subjoined to his Sermons. vol. vii. p. 353—377.

† Judges	xi. 39.	Mark	iv. 39.
1 Sam.	xxvi. 7.		ix. 49.
2 Sam.	xxi. 20.		xii. 43.
Prov.	iv. 17.		xiv. 37. &c.
	vi. 6.	Luke	ii. 33.
	ix. 17.		xi. 3.
	xxviii. 20.		xiii. 29.
Solomon's song.	ii. 7.		xiv. 13. 15 and 23.
Isaiah	xxx. 33.		xxiii. 15.
Daniel. (a general remark)			xxiv. 11 and 18.
Matthew	ii. 16 and 20.	John	i. 1. 3 and 19.
	vi. 9. 15 and 28.		v. 4.
	vi. 5.		xvi. 13.
	viii. 20.		xx. 28.
	ix. 38.	Acts	xii. 19.
	xi. 25 and 30.		xix. 35.
	xiii. 13.		xx. 13.
	xvii. 21.	Rom.	xiii. 3.
	xxii. 37.	1 Cor.	v. 5.
	xxiii. 2.		vi. 11.

1 Cor.

The "Strictures on the articles, subscriptions, tests, &c."* appear to have been the effort of a mind not entirely at ease. Four different degrees of assent in which they are subscribed are stated; and several reasons are given in favor of subscribing in the laxest sense. These reasons stand in direct opposition to the declared intention of the subscription now required by law, which was to prevent diversity of opinion. And instead of being arguments for a latitude of subscription, are so many reasons for the abolition of such stipulations from candidates for the ministry, not only as being a direct violation of the rights of christians and protestants, but wholly insufficient for effecting the avowed design of preserving an uniformity of opinion; productive of much prevarication and hypocrisy; and tending to stifle, counteract, and

1 Cor.	xii. 21 and 26.	2 Tim.	iv. 16.
	xv. 32.	Heb.	xi. 37.
Gal.	v. 12.	2 Peter.	i. 16—19.
1 Tim.	i. 6.	1 John	v. 7.
	iii. 16.		

* See "Tracts philological &c." vol. i. p. 417---427.

and suppress the truth as we find it in the gospel of Jesus.

“ If we will not allow of these reasons,”* says our author, “ we must suppose that in an

* In favor of subscribing in a laxer sense, the following reasons are alledged.

1. “ Our church admits persons to baptism, upon an assent to the apostle’s creed ; and useth only that creed in the catechism, and in the visitation of the sick.

2. “ She declares that the scripture is the only rule of faith.

3. “ She owns herself to be fallible.

4. “ Some illustrious divines of our communion have made declarations, which necessarily imply a dislike of certain things contained in the liturgy, or articles ; and yet never were censured for it, by public authority : as Chillingworth, Hales, Taylor, Hammond, Tillotson, Stillingfleet,—*cum multis aliis*.

5. “ There are propositions contained in our liturgy and articles, which no man of common sense amongst us believes.—No one believes that all the members of the Greek church are damned, because they admit not the procession of the holy ghost from the son : yet the athanasian creed, according to the usual and obvious sense of the words, teacheth this. No one believes himself obliged to keep the *sabbath* day : yet the liturgy, strictly interpreted, requires it.

6. “ It is evident, beyond a doubt, that the whole body of the clergy, and of the *learned* laity, depart, some more, some

an age,—and an age perhaps not the most learned,—an assembly of fallible men may determine concerning all points of faith and practice for themselves, and for their heirs; and entail bondage and darkness, worse than Egyptian, upon their posterity for ever and ever.”

But the question is not concerning their power (i. e. their legal power,) but their right;—not what *they may* do, but what *they have done*; and the continuation of such subscription is a proof of what fallible men, whether imposers or subscribers, *dare* do.

There cannot be more decisive reasons for the removal of all subscription, than the apologies of Jortin and Paley* for the present prescribed formularies.

X 2

Should,

some less, from the religious opinions of their ancestors in the days when the articles were established by law, and from the rigid and literal sense of them. This universal consent of a nation, to deviate thus in some points from the old doctrines, amounts to an abrogation of such rigid interpretations of the articles, and to a permission of a latitude in subscribing.”

* See Paley's "Moral and political philosophy." B. iii. part i. ch. xxii.

Should, however, these reasons for the latitude here contended for, be thought not sufficiently to shew the futility of the apology, and the necessity of the utter extirpation of all requisition to sign articles of religion, it cannot be improper to recite an observation of Dr. Jortin's which is placed at the foot of the preceeding discussion.

"Subscriptions and tests are supposed, says he, to be admirable methods to keep out the heterodox. But what said the philosopher to the jealous husband? 'Thou mayest bar thy windows, and lock thy doors; but a cat and a whoremaster will find the way in.'

Amanti aut indigenti difficile est nihil.

And the specific testimony he bears to one proposition contained in the articles, is more than a reflection upon all the rest.* "I do not

* Bacon says, "If St. John were to write an epistle to the church of England, as he did to that of Asia, it would surely contain the clause, *I have a few things against thee.* I am not quite of his opinion: (says Jortin) I am afraid the clause would be, "I have *not* a few things against thee." See maxims and reflections, in "Tracts." vol. ii. p. 530.

not remember," says he, "to have seen it discussed by any writer upon that subject; which, I believe, few of the subscribers ever examined; but which, I think, every one might safely receive with implicit faith. It is this:

"The churches of Hierusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch, have erred." Art. xix.

Dr. Jortin was always gentle in his judgment on heresy and heretics: and, I cannot, but think, that when he was on these subjects he thought himself a party concerned.

"What St. Paul and other apostles pronounce against the *heretics* of their time, says he, is not to be applied to all those, who in these later ages err in matters of faith. They neither despise the apostles, nor reject the gospel: nor do they usually seem to be seduced from the right way by views of honour or of profit. Many of them might say to the church, as Æneas to Dido,

Invitus, regina, tuo de littore cessi."*

The

* Contrast the state of religion in Europe with that in America. "In the united states of America, there is, strictly

The "Curfory observations"* contain several notes, neither unentertaining, nor unfruitful to a reflecting mind. One remark respecting the first protestant schools and universities in Germany, was in great degree confirmed in the person of Erasmus. "Most of the students," says Jortin, "were very poor, they supported themselves by begging and singing psalms from door to door: they studied by moon-light, for want of candles; they were almost starved for want of fire; and often went to bed with an empty stomach: yet the earnest desire of erudition conquered all these difficulties, and they became private tutors, school-masters, preachers and

strictly speaking, no such thing as a *church*; and yet in no country are the people more religious. All sorts of religious opinions are entertained there, and yet no *heresy* among them all; all modes of worship are practised, and yet there is no *schism*; men frequently change their creed and their worship, and yet there is no *apostacy*; they have ministers of religion, but no *priests*. In short, religion is there a *personal* and not a *corporate* concern." See Barlow's "Advice to privileged orders." 1792. part i. p. 50. note.

* See "Tracts philological, &c." vol. i. p. 428—444.

and professors. "Our young folks," adds he, "have not the tenth part of these hardships to endure, nor a tenth part of their industry and learning."

Admitting the truth of this remark, which will not be much disputed, we may descry the cause of it in a subsequent observation made by our author. "We have had," says he, "some powerful *druids* and *high priests*, who would have liked a decree of the Ephesian kind (the banishment of persons of superior merit,) concerning the clergy: *If any ecclesiastic amongst us surpass others in learning and abilities, let him by all means be depressed; and never permitted to rise above the station of a curate.*"*

The

* "In the ecclesiastical edifice, the stones, which support the whole, are placed lowest: the gilded weathercock shines at the top, and shifts about with the wind." See Maxims and reflections in "Tracts," vol. ii. p. 534. "There must be some laymen in a synod, says Selden, to overlook the clergy, lest they spoil the *civil* work: just as when the good woman puts a cat into the dairy to kill a mouse, she sends her maid to look after the cat, lest the cat should eat the cream." ib. p. 536.

The small collection of "Anecdotes" was communicated to the editor of these volumes, by a friend, with an observation, by way of introduction, that "from the complexion of those anecdotes which a man collects from others, or which he forms by his own pen, may, without much difficulty, be conjectured, *what manner of man he was.*" Some of these have considerable point, they are nevertheless considered by the gentleman who communicated them, "as no more, at the best, than the *earthen feet of Daniel's colossal statue.*"

Among the rest we read, that somebody said to the learned Bignon, "Rome is the seat of faith."—"It is true," replied he; "but this faith is like those people, who are never to be found at home."—A somewhat similar sentiment was expressed by the wife of a farmer in a northern county, who had his farm on lease from one of the hospitals in London, upon her being asked by a very respectable lady, Who was her husband's landlord? "Madam," said she, "our farm belongs to charity a long way off."

The

See "Tracts philological, &c." vol. i. p. 445--459.

The few remaining pages of the first volume of the "Tracts," contain "Translations from the *Lusus Poetici*;"* some of which have been noticed before.† The design in publishing this addition to the smaller pieces of Dr. Jortin, is expressed by one of the translators, and he may be considered as speaking for the rest. "He wished to give the English reader some idea of Jortin's elegance of fancy, and to excite the scholar to peruse some of the most classical latin verses which modern times have produced."

The new matter in the second volume of "Tracts" is comprised in the two last articles; "Critical remarks on modern authors; and maxims and reflections."

John Beaumont, Casaubon, Bp. Chandler, Pope and Swift, Thirlby, and Voltaire, are the subjects of short remarks. What is said on Borleau is extracted from Jortin's "Remarks on the Poets."

* See "Tracts philological, &c." vol. i. p. 260.

† p. 10 and 14. In the Gentleman's magazine for March 1792. p. 263, is a translation of Dr. Jortin's elegant epitaph on a cat.

cellaneous observations," and of archbishop Herring, from his " Life of Erasmus."

The " maxims and reflections" which close the volume before us,* contain much truth and much good sense. The application of these, and of the various remarks and observations, which are scattered with a rich variety through all the writings of our author, must remain with the reader, who is disposed to benefit by the lessons which Jortin hath delivered to posterity.

* "Tracts philological, &c." vol. ii. p. 529---539.



THE END.

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